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PRAVDA EDITORIAL ON ARMS CURB INITIATIVES

PM010816 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jun 86 First Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Our Peace Initiatives"]

[Text] The Soviet Union, together with the fraternal socialist community countries, is waging a struggle on a broad front to improve the complex and tense international situation, terminate the arms race, and save mankind from the threat of nuclear catastrophe that hangs over it.

Within a brief period of time our country has submitted proposals that are exceptionally important in terms of their significance. The USSR has put forward a specific plan for the total elimination of nuclear and other types of mass destruction weapons by the end of the 20th century and for the prevention of the creation [sozdaniye] of space-strike weapons (SDI). Introducting a unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions, the Soviet Union called on the United States to follow its example and thus clear the way toward the conclusion of an agreement imposing a complete ban on nuclear weapon tests. We are in favor of the elimination of USSR and U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe and the speediest banning and destruction of chemical weapons. All this must be implemented under strict international control [kontrol]. Desiring to help bring about a positive development at the Soviet-U.S. talks in Geneva, our country has proposed an interim alternative approach toward nuclear arms reduction: To reach accord on not abandoning [nevykhod] the ABM Treaty for at least 15 years, with work in the SDI sphere being limited to laboratory research, in other words to the threshold that has virtually been reached by the United States. Morover, strategic offensive weapons are to be limited at equal levels, while the question of medium-range weapons capable of reaching the other side's territory is to be resolved separately. The Soviet Union is doing everything possible to ensure that mankind enters the 21st century under conditions of "star peace" rather than "star wars," which is the aim of the most aggressive U.S. circles.

It is recognized by wide circles of the world public that the Soviet proposals for the strengthening of peace are striking in terms of their scope and realism, innovative presentation of the issues, boldness of political thinking, and willingness to seek mutually acceptable solutions.

The program adopted by the Soviet Union and its allies for a large-scale reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals is a new contribution in the struggle to terminate the arms race.

The problem of war and peace remains the most important of all the problems facing mankind today. The way to its solution lies through disarmament and the elimination of nuclear weapons, through international cooperation that is advantageous for all. Our country advocates the preservation and deepening of political dialogue, constructive cooperation between states, and the expansion of mutually advantageous trade and economic ties. The idea of pooling all countries' efforts for the peaceful exploration of space put forward by the Soviet Union is encountering growing support.

The June conference of the Warsaw Pact states' Political Consultative Committee in Budapest confirmed the basic avenues of the fraternal countries' struggle for peace and a transition to real disarmament. They have now become the foreign policy platform of all socialist community countries. The CPSU Central Committee June (1986) Plenum approved our delegation's activity at the conference and confirmed the party's foreign policy course set by the 27th congress and aimed at strengthening universal peace and averting the threat of nuclear war.

The plenum expressed confidence that the fraternal socialist countries' friendship and cohesion and the further development of their interaction with all peace-loving states and broad public forces will lead to the further buildup of socialism's peace offensive. It will also build the establishment of international cooperation for the purpose of reaching mutually acceptable accords in the arms limitation sphere and for the sake of the development and progress of all mankind.

But the U.S. Administration, pursuing an extremely dangerous course of "neoglobalism" and imperial ambitions, is evading the practical solution of problems and questions concerning peace. Furthermore, it is taking the path of abrogating previously achieved Soviet-U.S. accords and agreements. The recent U.S. Government statement about its intention not to observe in the future the strategic offensive arms limitations contained in SALT II constitutes a qualitatively new and highly dangerous step toward demolishing the entire existing arms limitation system [rezhim] and undermining the opportunity to conclude new agreements in this sphere in the future. The Washington "hawks" are also shaping up for the abrogation of the ABM Treaty. Evidence of the sinister nature of Washington's military-strategic plans is also provided by the latest nuclear explosion in Nevada and by the unprecedented volume of military expenditures, whose confirmation by Congress at a sum exceeding $300 billion in fiscal 1987 is being sought by the White House.

There is not and there cannot be any justification for such a policy. It places in jeopardy peace and security all over the world. This is the opinion of millions of people in all continents. Washington's reckless playing with fire in the international arena is also causing growing concern among the U.S. allies, who are unwilling to risk their security for the sake of the senior partner's imperial ambitions. The peoples in the world are responding to the challenge by U.S. and NATO militarist forces, which are spinning the flywheel of the nuclear and other arms race, by stepping up their actions in support of the peace proposals by the Soviet Union and the other socialist states. Members of mass antiwar organizations and realistically minded politicians and public figures in the West perceive them as offering a realistic way to improve the international situation, create an all-embracing security system, and save mankind from the threat of thermonuclear catastrophe. This historic opportunity must not be missed.

The people demand that 1986, designated as the International Year of Peace by the United Nations, be marked by specific steps in the cause of strengthening peace, eliminating the threat of nuclear war, consolidating universal security, and establishing international cooperation.

Soviet people welcomed with great enthusiasm the Appeal to the Soviet Union's Working People adopted at the CPSU Central Committee plenum on the launching of a nationwide socialist competition for the successful fulfillment of 12th 5-Year Plan targets. Declaring their willingness to respond to the party's call with selfless labor and to translate the bold plans and intentions into the energy of practical deeds, the Soviet people are aware that every success scored by our country along the path mapped by the 27th congress represents a new step toward strengthening the positions of socialism and the cause of peace on earth.

PETROVSKIY PRESS CONFERENCE ON ARMS PROPOSALS

LD010811 Moscow TASS in English 0753 GMT 1 Jul 86

[Text] Moscow July 1 TASS -- The essence of the proposals put forward at the Budapest meeting of the Political Consultative Committee held on June 10 through 11 consists in the tangible and really appreciable reduction of the ground forces and the tactical air force along with the corresponding nuclear armaments, Vladimir Petrovskiy, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, stated today.

He addressed a press conference here on the proposals of the Warsaw Treaty member countries concerning the reduction of the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe.

This reduction would cover the forces of all the European countries, as well as the U.S. and Canada, on the European territory stretching from the Atlantic to the Urals, V. Petrovskiy said. This could be implemented in the early 90's already, so that the process of the reduction of the armed forces and armaments of the NATO countries and the Warsaw Treaty member-states could be further continued in the future.

As the first step, it is proposed to hold one-time mutual reductions of the strength of the armed forces of the opposing groups by 100,000-150,000 from each side in the course of one-two years.

U.S. STANCE ON ARMS CURBS STRAINS RELATIONS

PM301046 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Jun 86 Second Edition p 5

[V. Dodonov article: "An Extra Mile Washington-Style"]

[Excerpt] The Soviet Union firmly adheres to a policy of searching in practice for a mutually acceptable arms limitation agreement. The American side at the Geneva talks on nuclear and space arms has been offered an interim version of an agreement under which, first, an accord is reached not to renounce the ABM Treaty for at least 15 years, while work in the SDI field is confined to the level of laboratory research, and, second, strategic offensive arms (ICBM's, SLBM's, and heavy bombers) are confined to equal levels. The question of medium-range arms capable of reaching the other side's territory, including long-range ground-based cruise missiles, is to be resolved separately in this case. A Soviet draft agreement aimed at ridding Europe of Soviet and American medium-range missiles has been placed on the negotiating table in Geneva. The Soviet Union has agreed that, given a zero ratio between the USSR and the United States regarding this kind of weapon, the British and French nuclear missiles will remain in the European zone at present levels. The Soviet side has also declared that it will not increase the number of medium-range missiles in Asia.

The United States, however, has not advanced a single new mutually acceptable proposal at the Geneva talks. What is more, the virtual rejection of SALT II is, in fact, further evidence that the White House not only does not wish to undertake new accords in the sphere of limiting and reducing arms but does not even wish to preserve the structure of the already existing Soviet-American agreements. Such a shortsighted policy on the part of the U.S. leadership merely complicates already strained Soviet-American relations. "If the American side ignores our initiatives this time too," M.S. Gorbachev emphasized in his report at the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum, "it will be obvious that the present U.S. Administration is playing an unworthy game on a very serious issue on which mankind's future depends."

GAN VIEWS U.S. PUBLIC OPPOSITION TO ARMS POLICIES

PM301105 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jun 86 First Edition p 4

[Own correspondent Vitaliy Gan article: "Washington's Servants of the People"]

[Text] Washington, June -- Comparisons are very revealing. That day in May confirmed this ancient truth. From very early in the morning, as soon as it became known that M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, was to speak on Soviet television, the correspondents' center was in a state of siege by telephone.

American acquaintances and strangers and activists from antiwar groups were calling. "Is it true that the Soviet Union is to announce an extension of the moratorium?" -- that question, which I was asked by T. Ferrera, cordinator of the coalition "National Campaign for a Nuclear Amrs Freeze," was of concern to all those who called. American awaited the news from Moscow impatiently...

The atmosphere in the White House was quite different; an "Olympian calm" prevailed there. The key to the enigma of the ostentatious lack of emotion was unexpectedly and unpredictably provided by White House spokesman L. Speakes. When the correspondents assembled for the routine press conference asked him how the administration intends to respond to the expected statement, Speakes willingly shared his view with them: "If the statement is, in our view, significant, I will come out and say something. If we consider it insignificant, we will issue a written response..."

Having given these "guidelines," a few hours later -- after the Soviet leader's remarks -- people in the White House were rubbing their hands in satisfaction. The representatives of the U.S. "big press," having received a written response from the administration, uncomplainingly followed its lead in evaluating the announcement from Moscow.

Its importance was obvious to any more or less objective observer. The extension of the unilateral Soviet moratorium on nuclear explosions to 6 August and the proposal to reach an agreement on a ban on nuclear tests were profoundly consonant with the interests and sentiments of the people of the United States and other countries. However, in accordance with the long established practice of Washington figures, the obvious, if it comes from the USSR, is regarded as, at best, improbable. Usually it is either simply rejected or hushed up. In its statement in connection with the speech by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, the U.S. Administration decided to ignore the moratorium question entirely. The American "monopolies of the word" reacted accordingly, acting strictly according to the White House "guidelines." The majority of newspapers did not even bother to mention the Soviet initiatives in the headlines. In general, "independent, objective" journalists concluded in their reports, as if by carbon copies, that the extension of the moratorium was dreamed up by the Soviet Union as an attempt to "distract attention from the nuclear accident at Chernobyl."

It was no accident that this episode sprang to mind. On the banks of the Potomac now one can hear absurd assertions, each more ridiculous than the last, that "people in the Soviet Union have virtually no influence on their government" and that "it is very important from the outset to draw a distinction between the people of the Soviet Union and the government which rules them." At the same time, naturally, the Americans are told that they should be grateful to the present administration, which supposedly reflects their will in its policy, takes account of their vital interests, and so forth.

Of course, it is always dangerous to underestimate and belittle the intellectual level of the onponent. But in this case official Washington's "arguments" do not stand up to any criticism. Especially since today, it is probably easier than ever before to detect the involvement in this slander campaign against the Soviet Union of those who would like to deny their own people the right to think independently and who dream of nothing less than the mass fooling of the nation. Those who, incidentally, were once aptly nicknamed by their own fellow citizens a "government of millionaires for millionaires and by millionaires."

It is clear that this scarcely flattering description contains the unambiguous opinion of Americans about whether or not the Republican administration is the "government of the people," as it tries to represent itself.

There would simply not be room to set forth, however briefly, the biographies and "track records" of the present incumbents of Washington offices, who joined the ruling elite by tracks and byways paved with green bills from the safes of industrial, agrarian, and banking monopolies. And while in the last 6 years the country has been the witness and at the same time the victim of record upsurges in unemployment, poverty and indigence, and an epidemic of hunger, it is doubtless not the interests of the people that are the prime concern of the hypocritical "guardians of the nation" from Washington.

This aspect obviously merits a separate discussion. But at the moment I would like to ask: What, specifically, has caused the present torrent of anti-Soviet fabrications, insinuations, and flagrant inventions? Why is the disinformation machine currently working at full speed?

The answers to all these questions can be found partially in the indisputable fact that the series of peace initiatives recently put forward by the USSR in the arms control sphere placed the U.S. Administration in an extremely difficult position. A wind blew away Washington's peacemaker clothes and the emperor turned out to be naked, with nothing to offer in opposition to the concrete, balanced Soviet proposals except for uncontrollable malice and clumsy excuses.

"In all the 40 years that I have been studying the Soviet Union," M. Shulman, a former State Department adviser and well-known expert on the Soviet Union, said recently, "I cannot remember a time when it was so seriously committed to holding talks with us."

That remark comes from a man who is in every respect far from sympathetic toward our country and can be admitted to be striking. It reflects the conviction that is spreading and gaining strength in the United States, and, incidentally, in other countries, that the American Administration is the main obstacle on the path to nuclear disarmament.

Yes, that is what many people think, including the Americans who have already obtained from the local organs of power in 4 states and more than 100 cities resolutions in support of a mutual renunciation of nuclear tests by the USSR and the United States. They want to be heard by those who assume the responsibility for declaring loudly to all the world: "We, the American people..."

One recalls how firmly and with what conviction the New York Bishop D. White rejected the reprimands for "interference in politics" which were addressed "from above" to the council of bishops of the U.S. Methodist Church: "We are citizens of the United States. We have a right to express our view and as citizens we uphold that right. We call into question the policy of our country." The clergymen were subject to persecution due to their message to millions of parishioners condemning the administration for the "star wars" program and for militarist paranoia.

The flock heard their words. And the White House, as always, feigned deafness, stubbornly claiming that the moratorium is merely a Soviet propaganda tactic. The administration prefers the sophisms of A. Holms, director of politico-military affairs at the State Department, who told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee: "The Soviet Union knows very well that we cannot adopt a moratorium on nuclear tests."
Why not, one wonders? WASHINGTON POST correspondents (F. Khayatta) and R. Atkinson did not find it difficult to get an answer. After visiting the Livermore laboratory, one of the Californian weapons development centers, a couple of weeks ago, they reported that the atmosphere prevailing there is one of an "animation unknown in recent decades." Laboratory employees, the correspondents wrote, are all but singing hymns to the "potential of the third-generation arms" fostered by the Reagan administration.

It is a question of creating weapons for the "star wars" program, all kinds of weapons of destruction using x-rays, gamma rays, electromagnetic bombs, and microwave guns, seemingly borrowed from Hollywood science fiction writers. It is this work, the journalists noted, that is the main reason for the refusal to join in the Soviet Union's ban on nuclear tests. And now, at that, can there be any question of stopping tests, when tens if not hundreds of "exotic" types of third-generation weapons have "booked" the Livermore and other similar laboratories, as well as the Nevada test range, for many years ahead?

THE WASHINGTON POST journalists, without intending to, also found in Livermore the answer to the question why absurdities permeated with malice are being poured out in relation to the USSR. It is apposite to recall that both the President and his advisers came to Washington from California, which not only leads the United States in weapons production, but is also the undisputed patrimony of the military-industrial complex. The state has more than 8,500 corporations that are subcontractors for the Pentagon. It is no accident that right back at the beginning of Reagan's presidency the newspaper PHILADEPHIA INQUIRER wrote that in Washington "there only remains one approach to everything -- the military approach."

It is hard to imagine how anyone in his right mind can claim that the militarist fever, which is profitable for the military-industrial complex and has had the country in its grip all these years, does not have a decisive influence on policy. It dicates Washington's approach to the Soviet peace initiatives, an insincere, unconstructive, and usually negative approach. On one hand, for instance, they declare the intention to "carefully study" the recent Soviet initiatives, and on the other they fan the flames of the slander campaign against the Soviet Union.

"The administration," I was told by E. Snyder, one of the leaders of the Quaker organization Friends Committee on National Legislation, "needs to maintain among Americans a high level of fear and distrust toward the USSR so that they will continue to pay for the invention of more and more destructive arms and so as to make them support aggressive acts."

One can hardly fail to agree with that. Anti-Sovietism cripples human reason and poisons the mind, creating an atmosphere of hostility toward everything the Soviet Union says and does. And for the military-industrial corporations and their political agents, that is "just what the doctor ordered." Especially now that the administration is losing support both among the public and even in Congress. The other day the House of Representatives adopted by an overwhelming majority a resolution demanding that the White House observer SALT-II. Also on Capitol Hill, draft laws have been submitted for examination by both chambers making provision for a ban on appropriations for the manufacture of arms that fall outside the bounds set by the treaty.

The rhetoric of professional demoaguges is no longer as effective as before, finding fewer and fewer naive admirers. After all, you cannot simply shrug aside THE WASHINGTON POST figures according to which only 17 percent of Americans are now in favor of increasing military spending. And since that is so, the new paroxysm of anti-Soviet hysteria is not surprising.

But can one ignore the fact that more and more Americans are aware of the true state of affairs? The peace marches, the resolutions of senators and congressmen in defense of SALT II, the petitions protesting against "star wars"? Hardly. So it is obvious that the Washington figures' "diversionary" maneuvers are misfiring.

EXPERTS VIEW EUROPEAN, U.S. DISARMAMENT STANCES

AU291518 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 26 Jun 86 pp 1, 3

[Interview by IZVESTIYA Political Observer Aleksandr Bovin and APN military affairs Observer Colonel Vasiliy Morozov to OTECHESTVEN FRONT special correspondent Petyo Bluskov and correspondent Vasil Asparukhov in Moscow: "Revolt on Their Knees To Clear Their Consciences -- Conversation in the OTECHESTVEN FRONT Correspondents' Room in Moscow" -- first paragraph is introduction -- date not given]

[Text] At the start of the 1980's a sharp shift to the right began to be felt in American foreign and domestic policies. The most characteristic feature came to be the intensification of anti-Sovietism in all spheres of bilateral relations. Official Washington is exerting mass efforts to draw its European allies into its adventuristic acts. Strange "counterproposals" unsupported by any trace of realism are being promoted. What do these contain? What really lies behind them? Our special correspondent, IZVESTIYA Political Observer Aleksandr Bovin and APN military affairs Observer Colonel Vasiliy Morozov.

Aleksandr Bovin: First of all, I would like to point out that the situation in Europe differs markedly from that in the United States. In the "old" continent one can rarely find people among the highly placed political leaders with such reactionary views as Weinberger in the United States. In other words, at the top political level in Europe there are no inveterate opponents of detente. To varying extents, with different nuances, the overwhelming majority of the politicians in Western Europe declare their support for improving relations between East and West and renewing the policy of detente. In this sense their position is essentially different from that of the United States.

[Question] In such a case, how are we to explain the fact that in most instances Western Europe is joining with U.S. most adventuristic political and military steps?

Aleksandr Bovin: Between Western Europe and the United States there exist enough serious differences on political, economic, and military issues. These are constantly coming to the surface. But here the factor of "Atlantic solidarity" or as I would call it, NATO discipline, comes in. This is what holds back the impulses of common sense that appear in Western Europe.

[Question] Could you be more concrete?

Aleksandr Bovin: For instance, we proposed the elimination of the medium-range missiles based on European territory. Here it was not merely a question of us dismantling them, but of actually destroying them. In this context we insisted that the French and British medium-range missiles also be taken into account in the overall balance, but we do not insist that the latter be destroyed. Our sole condition was that they not deploy its own nuclear potential and, naturally, that the United States not deploy its own nuclear weapons there. We are prepared to start immediate negotiations on these questions with England and France. However, unfortunatley both the British and the French Governments declined to even discuss our proposals. They simply contented themselves with declaring them unacceptable.

[Question] What are their arguments for this?

Aleksandr Bovin: According to Britain and France there was no point in talking about their nuclear potentials, since they are so small in comparison to that of the USSR. At first sight there would seem to be some logic in these words. But what is the situation in reality?

At the present time for example, the British and French submarine-based missiles represent 2.7 percent of the U.S. potential. But as a result of the modernization being carried out at the moment in both countries, this figure will reach 26 percent. These are already powerful forces for destruction, which we cannot fail to take into account. Our anxiety and our wish to find a solution to this question are perfectly natural.

Vasiliy Morozov: One of the West's main "arguments" is that if it joins in the Soviet disarmament program, it will be outwitted, since the USSR has a superiority over the West in land forces and conventional weapons. But the last meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact states put an end to capitalizing on this argument too. A program was proposed to the NATO member-countries and to all the countries of Europe that is clear, reasonable, and precise, for reducing armed forces and conventional weapons precisely in Europe. And this is natural. As emphasized in the communique of the meeting, the concentration of troops and weapons on our continent has reached particularly dangerous dimensions. A sharp reduction in the armed forces and conventional weapons would create a fundamentally new military-political and moral-psychological situation in Europe. But let us look at the facts. Just as there exists a global strategic balance, so by the same token there is also balance in conventional weapons. What does parity mean? It is not a mirror image of weapons. Both the quantitative and qualitative aspects are taken into account. Thus, it is possible for us to possess more component elements in certain respects, and for them to have more in others. This is also acknowledged by sober specialists in the West. But fairy tales about the Warsaw Pact's superiority in this or that type of weapon are needed by the Western politicians, and chiefly the arms magnates, on one hand, in order to block the negotiations and, on the other to obtain ever greater budgetary means for military requirements.

[Question] But all same, what should one understand by the term "conventional weapon"?

Vasiliy Morozov: It is accepted that this includes all types of weapons except nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons. The regional wars in Southeast Asia and the Middle East have particularly accelerated the improvement and spread of conventional weapons. Now their development is proceeding in such directions that certain modern types of such weapons approach nuclear weapons in their destructive power. Therefore the U.S. military doctrines are placing great hopes on the development and improvement of conventional weapons.

[Question] How are these hopes expressed in material form?

Vasiliy Morozov: It is well known that the present official American doctrine, the so-called Rogers plan, envisages the mass use of conventional weapons in the event of a future war. Western Europe is naturally one of the testing grounds for this plan. It has been reported in the U.S. press that by the end of the 1980's the U.S. troops stationed on the old continent will receive over 400 new weapon types and systems. The Pentagon's specialists have calculated that the rearmament of the U.S. Army with new weapons and equipment, combined with organizational measures, would permit, without any substantial change in the numbers of the U.S. military contingent in Europe, the might of this contingent to increase almost threefold by the middle of the 1990's as compared to the 1970's level. This is the picture.

[Question] In his speech to the collective of the Chepelsk machine-building plant, Mikhail Gorbachev stated that the issue of halting nuclear tests is the litmus paper that determines the real policy of the Western states. Why, in spite of the sharp disapproval of world public opinion, in spite of pressure from its NATO allies, is the United States continuing the tests?

Vasiliy Morozov: They need the nuclear tests in order to implement their so-called "star wars" program.

At the testing ground in Nevada the U.S. military is completing development of the components of the future "space shield." According to reliable data, the last five nuclear explosions are connected with the testing of weapons from this program -- nuclear lasers. This is a completely new weapon that will exert its effect by nuclear energy. The United States is allocating trillions of dollars for the realization of the Reagan administration's space program. This is an extremely advantageous deal for the military-industrial program that will guarantee the U.S. military corporations a carefree and profitable existence for the next 30 years. When the United States declines to join the moratorium declared by our country, voices can often be heard saying that this is because they have completed fewer tests than us. I want to state categorically that this is incorrect. According to data from the Swedish Defense Institute, up to 1 January 1986 the United States had completed 801 tests, whereas the USSR had held 563. These figures are also confirmed by other specialists and institutes. In 1985, prior to the moratorium declared by the USSR, the Soviet Union and the United States had each completed 9 tests. Since this time, the United States has completed 5 more explosions. We are extending the period of the moratorium for the third time. In this way we are taking a risk in the name of peace.

[Question] One can often read assertions in the West that the Soviet military doctrine is supposed to be aggressive. What is your opinion?

Vasiliy Morozov: Here again we are witnesses of the old trick of the guilty party casting the blame on the innocent side. As a military historian, I can state with full responsibility that our doctrine has always been defensive and will always be so. It is aimed at defending our own land and the socialist countries. Remembering Lenin's testament, we must always be on our guard and possess the most modern weapons that our potential enemies may also have in their possession. Yes, we have nuclear weapons, but will only use them for a counterstrike. We have solemnly assumed such an obligation. Regrettably, the United States has once again refused to accept this proposal of ours. It is stated in the CPSU Program that the historical achievement of communism is the attainment of strategic parity. This is precisely the factor that brings our class enemies to their senses. We have succeeded in catching up with capitalism in the military field and have preserved parity during the last 15 years. We are proposing that parity be preserved, but at a much lower level. That is, for it to be brought down to the level of reasonable security. Here we are speaking of that essential minimum that would restrain the hypothetical aggressor from carrying out aggressive actions.

[Question] Unfortunately, at the military negotiations on various problems of disarmament and security in the world the Western delegations most frequently follow an unconstructive line of conduct. How can this position of theirs be explained?

Aleksandr Bovin: First let us define the meaning of the concept "negotiations." First and foremost this means looking for compromises. In order for a compromise to be found, we must have learned how to take the interests of our partners also into account and how to look at the world through the eyes of Americans, Englishmen, Frenchmen... The Americans, unfortunately, look at the world solely from the positions of their own interests. Let us examine, for example, the case of the strategic offensive weapons. I must point out that Western Europe has practically unanimously declared itself against Washington's intention to cease to observe the treaty requirements. The exception was France, which adopted a position something like this: "This is none of our business. This issue only concerns the 'superpowers.'" Practically all the other NATO members at the recent conference in Halifax declared themselves against Washington's position. Here we encounter an extremely important nuance. The West European countries declared themselves against the U.S. position. They cleared their consciences before their voters. But their "no" is not strong enough. It is a revolt on their knees. But the observance or otherwise of SALT II is an extremely important issue for modern world politics. It is the only international treaty in force that places any limitations on the arms race. The West European leaders are well aware of that fact. In spite of all this they accept the dictate of the United States, which is less and less inclined to take its NATO allies into consideration.

[Question] Sometimes the view circulates in the West that Soviet-American relations are predominant in Soviet foreign policy. Evidently, this is not a matter of chance?

Aleksandr Bovin: Soviet-American relations are very important for us, since on them depend such fundamental issues as whether there will be war or not. But we treat the European direction of our policy with great seriousness. Practically throughout all their history, the Americans have treated Europe with scorn. They maintain that the Europeans are not the center of world history. We do not agree with this position, and consider that Europe is the cradle of contemporary civilization. This function of Europe -- both political and economic -- will continue to strengthen. On the other hand, we are often told that allegedly we have tried to be cunning, and wished to divide the United States and Western Europe and, after separating Western Europe from the United States, to establish our own political hegemony.

But we are not as primitive as we seem to certain people. We understand perfectly that nothwithstanding all the contradictions we are not in a position to cut those numerous close ties that bind Western Europe and the United States. We never set ourselves unrealistic tasks. And we are striving precisely to resolve real questions. Since Western Europe and the United States are allies, and in our opinion the elements of common sense in European politics are stronger, we are attempting to get Western Europe to influence the United States in order to make American policy more sober, reflecting modern quality to a greater extent. To a certain extent the Europeans are doing this, but in my view they could do more. Let them do more, in order that mankind may return to detente -- something against which the United States is constantly raising barriers. It refuses to halt nuclear tests, it attacked Libya, it renounced SALT II, and so on. Detente is in the interest not only of the USSR, but also of Western Europe itself and, of course, of the whole world.

TALKS WITH U.S. ON MIDDLE EAST HELD IN STOCKHOLM

LD301419 Moscow TASS in English 1358 GMT 30 Jun 86

[Text] [No dateline received] On June 26-27 a meeting between Soviet and U.S. representatives was held in Stockholm to exchange views on the situation in the Middle East. The Soviet side was headed by Vladimir Polyakov, member of the Collegium of the USSR Foreign Ministry, and the U.S. side -- by Richard Murphy, assistant secretary of state.

The meeting was the second round of Soviet-U.S. discussions of the Mid-East problem. It enabled its participants to [word indistinct] in a frank atmosphere the development of events in the region which took place since the previous meeting in February 1985.

Meeting participants expressed gratitude to the Swedish Government for hospitality and assistance.

[Signed] TASS

EEC FAILS TO MAKE DECISION ON RSA SANCTIONS

LD272150 Moscow TASS in English 1845 GMT 27 Jun 86

[Text] Brussels June 27 TASS -- TASS correspondent Albert Balebanov reports:

The European Council at the level of heads of state and government closed here today with a failure to take decision on sanctions against the Pretoria racists. Sanctions against the apartheid regime were one of the chief items on the agenda of the leaders of 12 European countries because of the toughening repression of the black majority by the white minority of South Africa.

The BELGA news agency reports that the Common Market leaders limited themselves to verbal threats to Pretoria. The future chairman of the EEC Council of Ministers, British Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary Geoffrey Howe, was instructed to visit South Africa in the near future and to present to the Botha regime the community's attitude to the apartheid regime. Should that mission fail, BELGA notes, the EEC will consult the USA and Japan to work out a joint position on the apartheid problem.

Radio Brussels noted that the decisions of the EEC leaders on South Africa were "amorphous and ineffective." Acute contradictions broke out at The Hague summit. Comprehensive economic sanctions were opposed by Britain, West Germany and Portugal, "moderate actions" were championed by Belgium and France, while Denmark, Greece and Ireland demanded from the partners resolute actions against the Pretoria racists. The session demonstrated anew that the forces standing guard over the economic interests of West European monopolies and conniving with the South African racists are still quite influential in Western Europe.

'STUDIO 9' DISCUSSES U.S. RELATIONS, POLICY

OW280823 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0557 GMT 28 Jun 86

["Studio 9" program presented by Prof Valentin Sergeyevich Zorin, Political Observer of Soviet Television and Radio; with Prof Vadim Valentinovich Zagladin, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department; and Vitaliy Vladimirovich Zhurkin, deputy director of the United States of America and Canada Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences.]

[Text] Hello comrades, we are meeting with you in Studio 9 of the Ostankino Television Center in order to talk about current world political problems. Our guests today are: Prof Vadim Valentinovich Zagladin, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, and Vitaliy Vladimirovich Zhurkin, deputy director of the institute of the United States of America and Canada of the USSR Academy of Sciences and corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences.

Our discussion is taking place at mid-year 1986. The second half of the year is now beginning. Time is going very fast, and 6 months is a fairly long period in politics. If we now remember the situation existing in the international arena 6 months ago, at the beginning of this year, and compare this situation with the current one, we find a fairly substantial difference. Six months ago there were certain hopes and very positive trends in the development of events in the international arena were visible. A few months have passed and the hopes have faded somewhat, the positive trends are less visible, and I think it would be correct if we began our discussion with an attempt to answer the question -- What is the matter? Why have things moved so fast in the international process during the period, Vadim Valentinovich?

[Zagladin] I do not know whether it is correct to say that the situation has worsened during this time. I have some doubt, because actually the objective situation did change. On the whole, the objective situation has not changed greatly compared with the beginning of the year. There has been a change in people's mood, impressions, and feelings. Here, we actually see the dynamics you have mentioned Valentin Sergeyevich because ...

[Zorin, interrupting] Let us say that I have expressed subjective perceptions.

[Zagladin] The subjective ones have really changed, there is not doubt about that. Speaking objectively about the situation, it was complicated, it was tense and it still is. The impressions have changed because there were more hopes then, hopes produced by Geneva, and now they are somewhat less, but they have not disappeared altogether because, if at the end of last and the beginning of this year, Geneva produced hope, now the source of hope is the initiative of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The submission process of this initiative is continuing and producing new hope, but of a different kind from that in the past. In order to give a more substantial comparison, it is necessary to review what has actually happened in the last 6 months, very briefly of course.

Geneva produced hope, and we all remember that, despite the fact that no concrete decisions were adopted there, the general platform jointly developed was certainly positive, because both sides admitted that it was not possible to wage a nuclear war, that there would be no victors, that it was necessary to move along the road of reduction of armaments, stopping the arms race on land and preventing it in space. Some positive things have been said by each side or even together that has produced hope. Concerning us, the Soviet Union and its leadership, it perfectly understood that the very best general statements would remain empty words if they were not supported by concrete actions, concrete ideas and proposals.

This was very well understood by our leadership, which started with the considerations and thoughts we call new thinking, and were then comprehensively and fully outlined at the congress. It understood one thing, that political will was needed, that it was necessary to really show that we see a danger and want to eliminate that danger, that we want to do what we talked about in Geneva. From this springs a series of proposals. The series is long, and was mentioned by Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev at the recent session of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet. I will not enumerate them all, but I will say that, if our proposals were adopted by the beginning of the 1990's, the world would look very different from what it does today. First of all, there would be by then a substantial reduction in strategic nuclear arms, subject to agreements, decision by both sides as to the extent, 40 or 50 percent, more or less, yet substantial in any case. Second, intermediate range nuclear missiles would have disappeared in Europe. Third, chemical weapons would have been banned and eliminated; fourth, there would have been a reduction in conventional armaments, as well as nuclear tactical-operational weapons, in the European Continent from the Atlantic to the Urals. That would have been a very different picture of the world.

When we or others talk about our proposals, all this is enumerated and that is all. I want to say that the picture of our ideas would not be complete at all if we did not also mention proposals of a different kind; we do not just want to put a stop to the arms race, we wish to move the course of events onto a different road and move the world into a new state, some new world system, a system that could be characterized by cooperation. During this period, in addition to the disarmament proposals, our country has submitted major proposals on international cooperation, which deal with problems concerning humanity, the whole world, and offer solutions advantageous to all.

That includes the proposal on cooperation in space that has been designated star peace [zuezdnyy mir], contrasting with star wars, as well as various other proposals on cooperation in the field of world power engineering, beginning with ensuring the safety of nuclear power engineering, the creation of new reactors through joint efforts, and ending with proposals concerning a power reactor based on the principle of nuclear synthesis [yadernyy sintezis]; then there are the proposals dealing with contributions to the development of liberated countries and overcoming injustices existing in this sphere, and so forth. In other words, we have two baskets of proposals, some of which are aimed at reducing tension and disarmament, others that are aimed at the development of peaceful and mutually advantageous cooperation between people. The synthesis of our ideas is the program for a comprehensive security system, which Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev characterized as a new approach to this problem. Truly, it is a new approach because, for the first time in history, a state offers proposals aimed, not just at preventing war or lowering the level of military danger, but also offering to create a system of guarantees that would not only cancel or remove the present danger, but would prevent its resurgence. Such are our proposals. Yet, our far-reaching proposals have not met a positive response. It cannot be said that they have not met a response, because large circles and many states support these ideas, but there has not yet been a positive response from our main partners, and Washington first of all. Moreover, some things have simply been rejected. We offered to ban nuclear tests on a mutually agreed basis, and we ourselves have not conducted any for almost a year. The Americans have rejected this. They now say that they want to abandon observance of the temporary agreement and the treaty on limiting strategic armaments. Still, there is no willingness for direct talks on the nonmilitarization of space. In other words, in many spheres not only is there no response but there is refusal. This is actually what has primarily aroused a doubt about the spirit of Geneva, and some mistrust of this spirit, questions about its need, and secondly it has produced some kind of skepticism about prospects. This mood does exist, and on a fairly large scale. Why it all happened is an entirely different problem.

[Zorin] Let us try to discuss nevertheless ...

[Zagladin, interrupting] Let us discuss it in a collective manner ...

[Zorin] Let us do that, I beg you, Vitality Vladimirovich.

[Zhurkin] It seems to me that the identity of those who are guilty of these tendencies is well-known. It was named at the June Central Committee Plenum, mentioning the U.S. military-political elite, which begins to post an evergrowing threat to the United States itself, and probably not only to the United States but also to its allies.

Indeed, during the last few months, why has the U.S. tried to aggravate the situation and not taken constructive steps? I think that there is a complex of causes, including the plain inertia of the neglected militarist course. This inertia has an effect. Certainly, there is not just the inertia, you cannot attribute everything to that. I think that, when we talk about political causes, the main thing is that the elite became afraid of the challenge thrown out by the Soviet Union, which offered to use new thinking in the international situation. The new thinking, the new approach, has been specified in a long series of exclusively large-scale initiatives and proposals. Frankly, I do not remember a 6-month period in the postwar era when such a large and massive program of peace initiatives was offered. The first reaction, and it may not be the first reaction, is that of a tortoise hiding in its shell, the armor of military preparations, of no compromise, of toughness. Apparently, there are also economic reasons. The idea of trying to wear down the Soviet Union economically in the arms race is not new among American Administrations, yet it seems to be the favorite child of the Reagan administration, its fondest dream.

By the way, it was the first administration to concretize this plan in official documents, national security directives on the main strategic trends of U.S. activities, about 3 years ago, first in Directive 32 and then in Directive 75. Though secret, the contents of these directives somehow leaked to the press, and Directive 75 says that it is necessary to get rid of the Soviet Union economically.

Now, when the 27th congress proposed a program for the USSR's social and economic development, it must have raised concern in the United States. It should not be forgotten that this toughening is an attempt to somehow augment or even promote this attitude built on efforts to reduce relations between the two countries to the arms race and political confrontation to some kind of collision, in hopes of hurting the Soviet Union economically.

And finally there is a third side. In recent years in the United States, due to a number of circumstances, including the fact that the crisis ended in 1982 and the economy has been developing more or less normally for 4 years -- although it is true that the economic growth this year will be around 2.5-3 percent which is nevertheless normal for the United States and is a revival, naturally and not a crisis -- and the allies have fallen behind somewhat, I mean the West European NATO allies, all of this has apparently created a feeling of some kind of excessive power and increased opportunities in the U.S. military-political elite. This has pushed it to take steps that many in Western Europe and in the United States itself have characterized by comparing the actions of the administration with those of a passionate gambler.

[Zagladin] With a passion for power.

[Zhurkin] Yes. You know one U.S. senator even compared it to a cardplayer on a ship, not simply in a casino, but on a ship somewhere on the Mississippi who attempts in an hour or 2 or 3 to beat his compatriots quickly and disappear from the ship.

Of course this is a dangerous trend, a dangerous trend in the contemporary nuclear world that is oversaturated with arms; and the danger of this trend has been noted not only by us. Recently we received the latest issue of STRATEGIC SURVEY published by the Institute of Strategic Studies in London. This is considered a major publication in the West.

As a matter of fact, the institute is saturated and oversaturated with Americans so this survey is not prepared by liberals but by fairly rigid people in the military and political sense.

You will excuse me, the quotation may be somewhat long, but it is interesting. It says here that President Reagan is apparently prepared to sacrifice the prospects for a relaxation of tensions in Soviet-U.S. relations for the sake of pursuing the dream of a stronger America that is less inhibited in the international arena. The author of this survey concludes: But his constant muscle flexing and tactics of confrontation contain a risk that his famous luck will run out and that the United States may be drawn into a whirlpool of serious military crisis, either through its own actions or those of its allies. Undoubtedly the President has increased the stakes, but whether this passionate game of his leads to success remains a very big question.

It seems to me that the fact the administration is presently trying to forge ahead in a series of issues, not only in the central direction, not only in Soviet-U.S. relations but also in relations with its allies, this, in the contemporary situation is fraught with great difficulties in the future. I would again like to return to the idea expressed by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev at the plenum about the military-political elite. This military-political elite is digging in and threatening the serious, extensive, and large-scale interests of the United States as a great power.

[Zorin] A simply unusual situation for the political history of the United States has taken shape. Generally it was always considered that the threat was external. Often this threat to the United States was in fact external. In recent years the myth about a Soviet threat was increased. Now more and more facts indicate that the real threat to the United States is not external but internal. This is precisely what Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev was talking about in his plenum speech when he stressed: It is becoming increasingly clear that the genuine threat to the security of the United States does not originate from external forces. This threat, and it is a considerable one, is posed by the country's military-political elite and its adventurist behavior in the international arena.

This apparently is the key to the answer to many questions, Vadim Valentinovich.

[Zagladin] I think it is necessary to continue this line of thought. I agree fully with what was said. I think first that this situation in the United States is a particularly vivid example of what is happening in the capitalist world in general; it is the apex. But these processes are occurring in other countries as well. Possibly not as fast or as vividly, or as obviously, as in the United States.

Secondly, as far as the United States is concerned, what is this elite? Lenin once said that the fundamental question for Marxists is to study the relationship between property and power. Now, both sides of the issue are involved here. The relationship of property, being private capital property, changes insofar as new forms of state-monopoly capital are in action, and transnational capital has appeared; enormous concentrations of wealth, besides, in most diverse forms. This requires further study but, as far as power is concerned, well into the 19th century it was said that a state is a committee for running the country on behalf of the bourgeoisie. Later, Marxism amplified this wording to read that it was a committee running things on behalf of the top bourgeoisie.

Now, it has become a weapon in the hands of this elite, a weapon in the hands of a peculiar oligarchy which has arisen in America, primarily on the basis of a conjunction of the military-industrial complex and the military elite associated with it; the bureaucratic elite associated with it or the elite in the state apparatus; the administrative elite associated with it, including certain people involved in science or in the organization of science, including some of the judicial authorities.

This is an elite that lives by its own interests and aims and does not care about anything else, particularly for the interests of its own country.

Besides, you were quite right when you said that its actions contradict the interests of the United States. This is true. Another thing should be noted. Never before has so much been said about these national interests. This whole elite is saying that it is the main defender of the national interests. In actual fact this is a group that ought to be turned over to the Commission on Anti-American Activities, insofar as it undermines the economy of the United States. The colossal debt the United States has accumulated is its doing. It undermines the security of the United States insofar as its military programs do not strengthen or bolster this security; on the contrary, they create increasing dangers for it.

[Zhurkin, interjecting] It compromises the political positions.

[Zagladin] Quite right, the political positions. It is the primary cause of developing anti-Americanism. Finally, a climate is being created in the country that the Americans are criticizing as they see the internal political, moral, and other dangers. So, it really is a dark force.

As far as what motivates it, I agree with what Vitaliy Vladimirovich said, but I would add this, rather I would schematize it this way. First, the source of all these actions is the interests of military business and the logic we have discussed, the inertia I mean. Second, they are economic interests, not only regarding the Soviet Union, that is really the next point, but it is the desire to create a potential capable of defending the interests of this elite, the economic interests. After all, nearly a third of the U.S. national income is generated by various ways of plundering the developing countries and the liberated countries. It is, of course, a very important matter to preserve this third for those who receive and live by these means.

If the developing countries follow a genuinely independent and politically self-reliant course, these means will be lost. In order to preserve them, force is needed. Grenada, Libya, the Middle East, and so forth are needed. In other words, neoglobalism is needed, and force and military power are needed for neoglobalism. Now, it is quite true that the allies can be kept under control in this way.

Now my latest American interlocutors -- there have been many of them, most diverse people from conservatives to liberals -- told me what this oligarchy has learned from the example of detente. One of the lessons learned was as follows: During the years of detente, the allies felt themselves somewhat more tranquil, more free. They began pursuing their own policies, mending their contacts with the East, defending some of their own interests. This is completely inadmissible to this elite. Now, how do you keep them in hand? One of the methods is participation in military programs. But participation in SDI presumes a freeze on contracts with the East, or limitation of political independence.

Now, what Vitaliy Vladimirovich said about attempts to pressure us, to force us to arm ourselves to death -- there is a German expression [word indistinct] -- that is what they want to achieve. So there are reasons for emasculating the Geneva spirit. But I think that every one of these reasons has its limits and gives rise to various problems. There is another side that is difficult to discuss now, but it must be kept in mind that every direction these actions take gives rise to problems, very difficult and serious ones.

[Zorin] I would like you to continue discussion of this topic, Vadim Valentinovich, in the following sphere.

You have already raised the thought that these past 6 months have not only been linked to negative manifestations, but a series of important and positive things have retained their vitality.

[Zagladin] Yes.

[Zorin] I would like to dwell on this aspect a little.

[Zagladin] Well, I could turn the problem over somewhat ...

[Zorin, interrupting] But how ...

[Zagladin] In the same aspect. I recently received a letter from a Rostov viewer. It is interesting, full of goodwill, shows great understanding of the situation, but toward the end of the letter the viewer asks the following question: Considering what happened during the last 6 months, was there any need to go to Geneva? Why go when a paper without any confirmation is produced? I will be glad to reply. That is not just a piece of paper, it is a serious document, at least that is our attitude. The confirmation of the document are our initiatives that have been supported by huge political forces in the world. I am not talking about socialist countries. The Warsaw Pact countries have confirmed their full support for the Budapest initiatives and, in their turn, have offered new ideas. During his visit to Europe, Hu Yaobang also supported these ideas and wished success for their promotion. That shows the existence of the Chinese point of view. Then the underdeveloped countries, the nonaligned countries, the Delhi Six -- they all actually support them. That means that it has not failed.

On the other hand, the changes in public opinion observed after Geneva have not disappeared. The U.S. line of pressure, sabotage of the Geneva spirit, arouses different reactions. It also arouses pessimism. We have already mentioned that. It also arouses something else -- a desire to act in order to somehow oppose, stop this sabotage. These actions are becoming fairly tangible. I think this is how things are, and this will not fail to eventually have an effect on U.S. leadership. Vitaliy Vladimirovich has quoted from the LONDON REVIEW. I think it contains an interesting thought, all the more so because its authors' inclinations are far from liberal, so to speak. I would disagree with them in one respect. They said the President has decided ... the President has, so to speak ... I do not know but I have the impression that the President may have his own ideas, and that possibly he is fairly sincere in some of his ideas. Lately, two or more times I think he spoke about the need for a turn for the better, that the Soviet proposals are a serious matter. I think that here, to some extent, he expressed his own point of view. A different matter is that he has that elite and other people around him. He himself may be somewhat inconsistent, but I think that if this ...

[Zhurkin, interrupting] And he himself is bound to that elite ...

[Zagladin] And he himself is bound to it, of course. Although bound, he still has his own nuances of thinking. Of course, his latest statements may be evaluated in different ways. But I think there is some influence of the positive atmosphere that developed after Geneva and still exists. It is difficult to get away from this positive aspect.

[Zorin] I think it is necessary to emphasize that the unprecedented composite, as you said, of the most important proposals, the peaceful proposals of the Soviet Union, are having real political effect despite productive bourgeois propaganda and the myth about the Soviet military threat shared by a fairly large number of people in the world. Today the influence of this myth is far from being what it was let us say 6 months ago before our initiatives. That is also a positive factor that has come to light.

[Zhurkin] Of course. Indeed, Valentin Sergeyevich, we often and correctly say that the world is not limited to the United States, but this formula can probably be applied to the United States itself -- the United States is not limited to the military-political elite. In the U.S. ruling class there are groups, groups in favor of constructive development of relations. I am not talking about wide sections of the public that put pressure on Congress, the same Congress that puts pressure on the administration, there is no doubt that all of this background is functioning and it can be said very accurately that the activity of all these is obvious and growing under the influence of Soviet peace initiatives. Is there any need to talk about it? Dozens of polls are taken and I will simply show the viewers the one published in TIME magazine. [Video shows results of poll.] This is the percentage of people in favor of agreement with the Soviet Union, and this percentage is constantly growing; and here is the percentage of people who are for nuclear rearmament of the United States. They amount to 10-12 percent. That represents one-eighth to one-tenth.

Concerning Congress. Of course, Congress does not operate in a simple manner. Yet on the eve of Geneva, affected by economic factors -- because there was a need to somehow manage the huge budget deficit -- just the same, on the eve of Geneva, Congress adopted a decision that led to U.S. military allocations this year approximately equivalent to 1985 allocations in real prices with adjustments for inflation. The struggle for the 1987 budget has now begun, and Congress is striving to make the 1987 military allocations equal to the allocations of 1985 and 1986.

There is no doubt that the growth is large and the Pentagon has grown quite fat, the expenditures are huge, yet persistent efforts are being made to break the ascending curve of Reagan's military expenditures, sometimes unsuccessfully and other times successfully. While speaking about the effect of our peaceful initiatives, we must see that effect in all its complexity and diversity.

[Zorin interrupting] And not always in a straight line...

[Zhurkin] And not always in a straight line, of course, and not always for a short time. That is a job for the future, not for months and not even years, but for a long time. It is a job, not only during the period of the Reagan administration, but also for the post-Reagan period in 1989. That means the Soviet Union is now actually laying the foundations for the long-term, and offers to solve the most important world problems and -- what is more important than the problem of war and peace? -- offers our alternative for solving these problems. The Soviet Union offers its road, which is finding ever-growing support, for solving the question of the main rights of man, man's right to life and humanity's right to existence.

[Zorin] Well, while analyzing the situation, we focussed our attention on Soviet-U.S. relations and problems of these relations, but these do not exhaust the situation in the present day world, and this...

[Zagladin interrupting] The world is not limited to the United States, as we have said.

[Zorin] Yes, the world is not limited to the United States, and the relations are not bigger as U.S. and other Western politologists say, there is not just two points of force, the world is diverse, and the situation in various regions, various points of the globe, exercise a very serious influence on the general world situation, and in particular a very great influence on the situation in Europe, and that was very evident in the last 6 months. So, I would like you, Vadim Valentinovich, to comment on this complex problem.

[Zagladin] Alright. While speaking about Europe, we have to say that the continent is passing through a complicated period of history. The first reason is the great and serious military threat that is now the main problem on the continent. Europe, as a whole, is not leading a simple life now, according to all indicators. In the last decades, or slightly less, there was a considerable change in direction in the internal political sphere in Europe. At the beginning of the 1970's, liberal and social-democratic trends prevailed, then came the conservative trend. The movement of conservative forces in Europe has led to conservatives ruling on their own in 10 countries, in coalitions in 6, and only 5 countries having social-democratic governments, with more or less leftist or center-left trends. [as heard] Most of Europe is in the conservative forces' hands. This has had an effect on the political, economic, and military situation in Europe. It was expressed in the sphere of foreign policy by a slide toward the United States, support for its plans, support for SDI, support for the program to create new chemical weapons, stronger cooperation, or rather interaction in this case, in more frequent summit meetings, which have become a regular institution of the European and other leading capitalist countries, in other regions of the world and, first of all, the United States, and so forth. That is one element.

But, in the latest period, covering 18 months to 2 years, the picture begins to change somewhat; change in the sense that, in some countries, the leftist forces, the social-democrats, communists, the greens,and others have begun to become more active, the conservatives are beginning to lose in some places, first of all in the FRG and Great Britain. The latest partial elections indicate a clear loss of position by conservatives. But the main thing, of course, is the internal political changes reflecting, to a considerable extent, the foreign policy processes. The fact that conservative parties and governments have caused great economic damage to wide masses, their rigid policies and austere economy conducted along different lines, but all at the expense of the working masses, and for the sake of solving big capital problems, have played their role. In the field of foreign policy, some deep issues are emerging.

I am engaged with Europe a lot and have meetings and make visits -- I have already been to several countries this year. Now, what if I try to generalize, what is obvious, what is the general mood seen or felt in European circles? Now, I do not mean leftist circles, simply middle of the road ones.

First, there is the fear of war, a fear of the consequences of American programs, and a fear of an intensification of the military danger if these programs continue. Everybody, even the conservatives, talk about this, in different ways maybe, but everybody is talking about this. Possibly even more is being said now -- particularly during the past 6 months we are talking about -- about displeasure over U.S. policy. They put it this way: We are being ignored, and although it would seem that we are allies, the Americans act as if they can do with us as they please.

I was in Italy when the Libyan crisis erupted, and the Italians, including representatives of the ruling coalition, said that, well, what does this mean? They are shooting and bombs are falling on Libya, but in fact they are falling on us, the Europeans, because we said we are against these bombs. But they drop them anyway, and in many cases the American advisers, who supposedly visited the Europeans for consultations on the Libyan events, did not even tell them that at the moment when the consultations were being held, the aircraft were already taking off. This caused terrible indignation.

Now practically all European governments oppose, to some extent, the rejection of SALT, and they voice this. Nevertheless, such statements have been made. What else can be heard everywhere? Dissatisfaction with U.S. economic policy. Now, there is of course dissatisfaction on the part of large European corporations, which are being pressured intensively, and the Americans may even have been somewhat hasty in considering them too weak. They are not all that weak. But that is another matter.

I am talking about dissatisfaction among broad circles, primarily political ones.

What are they dissatisfied with? Well, for example, there are some 300 bills before the U.S. Congress concerning trade or economic discrimination against the Europeans. Limitations on Europeans exports to the United States and, on the other hand, expansion of U.S. exports to Europe. Of course the Europeans are responding with their own measures. The European Economic Community, which we often call the Common Market, is adopting its own measures aimed at limiting U.S. exports to Europe, and so forth. There are very large problems here.

Finally, there is another topic that is being raised by prominent representatives of the intelligentsia. This is a protest against the Americanization of European culture. A second conclusion is that Europe must be more concerned about itself. It has its own interests in the security, economic, and cultural spheres and it must be more concerned with this. Various plans, and an intensification of integrationary processes in the economy, in politics, and in military affairs, stem from this.

Further, there is discussion that Europe must display its worth more in the foreign policy sphere in deciding major world issues. Already we see different shades here, on Central America, southern Africa, and the Middle East. European positions do not coincide in all areas with American ones, and they differ in Europe too, but in general there is a desire to have their own European position. There is also increasing interest in general European issues, which means in particular the problem of cooperation with the East.

Now, from this point of view, great interest is being shown in our proposals, particularly to the Budapest session of the Political Consultative Committee. Before our meeting, I took a look at and systematized the responses. I did not find one negative response.

[Zorin] To Budapest.

[Zagladin] To Budapest. Not one, of course, there are various degrees of approval. There is simply warm support, there is interest, and there is expressed interest, and so forth, but there is not one...

[Zhurkin, interrupting] They are seeking clarification, asking for clarification of some things.

[Zagladin] Yes, they are asking for clarification.

[Zhurkin] For example, Vadim Valentinovich, the Europeans regularly ask: Why is nothing being said about this or that weapons system; About tanks or artillery, say? But this is obvious.

[Zagladin] Yes, it is a point for negotiation.

[Zhurkin] Besides, it has been pointed out that a reduction of conventional arms has been proposed, and that means discussion will include reduction in the number of tanks [words indistinct] main strike force of land forces, missile units, and artillery, and so forth. This is obvious.

[Zagladin, interrupting] Sub units and formations. Of course. They ask another question, if we are to talk about what is being discussed. They say that, for instance, you propose equal reductions, but you have an advantage it seems, superority. Well, there is no superiority, but there could be some imbalance one way or the other in some systems. But this too is a topic for negotiation now. But, in principle, there is enormous interest in these proposals.

Here scale could be stressed. If it were implemented and arms and armed forces decreased, liquidated, or removed by 25 percent, people in Europe would immediately breathe a sigh of relief. Secondly, there is scope in the approach. In other words, we are not limiting ourselves or reducing the matter to one kind of weapon. We are including everything. Besides, we are not simply saying that these are weapons of conventional armed forces. In actual fact, we also have in mind tactical [operativno-takticheskoye] nuclear arms of relatively minor effective range, up to 1,000 kilometers.

Therefore we can say that we are proposing an acceleration of the movement along the three-stage schedule that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev proposed in the 15 January proposal. It was envisaged for the next stage but now we are prepared to begin with this.

Further, this is a proposal that is obviously addressed to those countries with which we want to have equal security. We are not placing anybody into some privileged or, on the contrary, under restricted conditions.

[Zhurkin] Besides, Vadim Valentinovich, it seems to me to be worth noting to what degree the numerous proposals originating in the East have been taken into consideration...

[Zagladin interrupting] Quite right.

[Zhurkin] And not just those of the public, not just from the forces coming out for a constructive development, but those of governments as well, particularly conservative governments -- their proposal concerning ways to somehow blunt the possibility, say of a rapid and sudden outbreak of military activities.

[Zagladin] Quite right.

[Zhurkin] There is their proposal that the nature of the doctrines of the sides be discussed in a balanced way, and a series of other proposals. It seems to me that this aspect is also important. What was expressed over a period of the past 5 or 10 years...

[Zagladin interrupting] Undoubtedly. I would go even further, because not only the proposals of governments, but the considerations that were expressed by the NATO Council, the European part of that council, were taken into account, to quite a broad extent. As a matter of fact, speaking in parentheses, this proposal of ours was also handed to a representative of the deputy secretary general of NATO. Insofar as it is a Warsaw Pact proposal it is quite natural that it was also handed to our partner, if I can put it that way, in Western Europe.

In short, it is truly a unique initiative and it is quite understandable that it could evoke such an interest. Now again it is a matter for a practical beginning. We are fully prepared for this and will see how it goes.

[Zorin] I would like to draw attention to the fact that the reaction abroad to this proposal from Budapest is not unambiguous. Various pronouncements have been made. In connection with this I would like to ask you, my colleagues, the following question: A completely peculiar and characteristic feature of recent times -- of the very recent past - is the surprising ambiguity, to put it mildly, or more directly the contradictions in Washington's reaction to many important proposals. This is evidenced by the series of statements we hear often contradicting one another coming from the mouths of administration leaders. Now it is very difficult to understand where the genuine position of Washington lies. Vitaliy Vladimirovich, how can you explain this disarray that we see in Washington's political circles?

[Zhurkin] Valentin Sergeyevich, I would like to say first of all that there is ambiguity and there is also conformity. If we take the administration's affairs, then there we see complete and 100 percent conformity.

[Zorin] Yes, but I have its statement in mind.

[Zhurkin] In words and in statements there is ambiguity and contradictions, in general, in the statements of leaders of any large state. This too is politically significant in a way. It seems to me that there are a number of reasons behind this. First of all there is undoubtedly a struggle being waged in the U.S. leadership. The leadership is right-wing-conservative but nevertheless the right-wing-conservative leadership is not monolithic. I think it is incorrect to view it as monolithic.

[Zorin interrupting] Nixon was also a right-wing-conservative.

[Zhurkin] Nixon was a right-wing-conservative but objective conditions forced him to go to Moscow to sign the SALT-I Treaty.

There are ultra-right-wing officials who do not want any agreements and there are right-wing-conservative who carry on old conservative traditions and would like to introduce some element of agreement -- some element of organization, if you will - - to Soviet-U.S. relations, some sort of order. This struggle cannot fail to influence the President's position or the administration's course.

[Zorin] I would like to draw attention to another aspect or nuance of the situation. There is no doubt that a struggle is underway between the most frantic officials such as Weinberger, Perle, Casey...

[Zhurkin, interrupting] [Name indistinct]

[Zorin] Yes. There are more sober-minded officials. This is how it is and each group promotes its own idea. Now Vadim Valentinovich expressed his opinion about Reagan's position. I would like to draw attention to the following peculiarity of the President's position. Presently the second presidential term is approaching its midway point -- there is no third term, the President is not elected for a third term according to the Constitution. This circumstance in U.S. political traditions gives rise to some peculiar processes. The President's influence gradually falls as the expiration of his term approaches.

Officials in the administration, party members, and congressmen, and many of those whose positions are linked with support of the President begin to look less towards the President and more towards who the next administration leader will be, when to bet on, and whom to follow.

Presently this process is beginning but after the November elections when Reagan's presidential term nears its end, this process will intensify and the President's influence will gradually decline. This will result in the fact that various political groups in Washington will acquire increased pressure if not strength, more ambitions, and will exert more pressure on the President and promote their own opinions and assessments. This will lead to certain contradictions and an intensification of the struggle between the groups and ambiguity in Washington's political reactions.

[Zagladin] In connection with this, the military-industrial [as heard] elite apparently is already thinking about the future and the President is no longer its future.

[Zorin] This is a very important nuance, I think, although it seems to me that the most important thing in reply to this question was noted by Vitaliy Vladimirovich. It is the fact that a struggle...

[Zagladin, interrupting] A struggle, yes, quite right.

[Zorin] An internal struggle is underway...

[Zagladin, interrupting] There is no doubt that a struggle is being waged within the administration, this has been proven. But I think we should not overlook the midterm elections that are very important. This struggle too has great influence because the Democrats are becoming more active and many Republicans who want to be reelected are forced to take into consideration in their pre-electoral actions both the American and European moods. In this connection the position of the Europeans -- I am on my favorite topic -- may have considerably more weight than in other circumstances.

[Zorin] Yes. I would like, in conclusion, to refer to some of our viewers' letters that have something in common with the letter you quoted Vadim Valentinovich. There actually are such letters: The Soviet Union is offering one initiative after another, serious initiative and every time negative responses are heard in Washington in connection with these proposals. Some of the letter writers ask the question: Is there any point under the current conditions to continue the dialogue with the United States, if all our initiatives find no support, is there any sense in that?

[Zagladin] I would reply as follows: Do we have any other option? And we do have another option. The situation is very serious because now it is still possible to sign some kind of agreements; it is possible to negotiate about something. But if the next qualitative round in the arms race begins, it will be difficult to sign agreements. The parity will then lose its significance and on the contrary it will become a destabilizing rather than a stabilizing, element.

In addition to the seriousness of the danger we must also consider the time factor. We must not procrastinate and this is constantly reiterated by our leadersip and that is correct. We must act quickly in order to solve problems while they can still be solved. It is now still possible to solve them. For this reason it is necessary to move forward and offer these solutions.

By the way many people, and in the United States first of all, would have liked us to be less energetic and would like to move us to some other position, a positive of confrontation, a position of an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, spike against spike or something like that. Some of the provocative actions of the Libyan type may have been planned for that purpose, tht we shall break loose so to speak. But we shall not break loose. It was reiterated at the June Central Committee Plenum that we shall consistently conduct our line, our policy.

We have said that the world is not bipolar. This is true and certainly in the political sense, and yet some kind of bipolarity is emerging now. But not along the USSR-U.S. line, along another line. Now practically this question of the future, of the right to life which Vitaliy Vladimirovich spoke about, this question is in the focus of wide public attention, as well as statesmen, ordinary people, businessmen and some part of the military.

It is a common topic now. Around this topic is formed the bipolarity of the world. On one side there is, like in the schematics published in time, a shrinking group of those who are in favor of this course, for continuing the policy of force, for intensifying the arms race and on the other side a growing mass of those who are against this policy.

This does not mean that they are for or against us, as the question is often asked. No they are not for us. In their largest part and even in their majority they are not supporters of socialism. They are people standing on the other side of the social barricade; they are people who have entirely different views from us. Yet we are united over one issue, because it is necessary to preserve peace, it is necessary to preserve life and develop peaceful cooperation. In this aspect the world is really gradually becoming bipolar.

Now the situation in the world arena is such that the degree of social responsibility of the governments, states, political leaders cannot be measured by national yardsticks, whether they defend well or poorly the national interests. You may defend the national interests well, but if you do not take into consideration these general human problems -- problems which concern one and all -- you cannot consider yourself to be a responsible politician.

In essence there is a kind of competition going on to see who will manage to lay the road for the survival of humanity, who will manage not only to point out that road but to show how to march along it as well and take real steps in that direction. Our initiatives show how to take these steps. We show the way and we show how to march along it. Our unilateral actions, which we have taken several times, show the huge political will of our people, our state and party leadership. I think that socialism will certainly succeed in this competition because this is really the system which today, now, shows that it is capable and worthy of being called the representative of the policy, a promoter of the policy meeting the interests of all humanity.

[Zorin] Well we have exhausted our time on the air. All I have left is to thank you for participation in the discussion, and thank our viewers for their attention. Until our next meeting here in our Studio 9, thank you.

GLASSBORO INDICATES WHITE HOUSE 'MANEUVERING'

PM301541 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jun 86 First Edition p 5

[Tomas Kolesnichenko "Commentator's Column": "Last Straw"]

[Text] Zeal is a risky business. They must be pondering that now in the White House, where the architects of the "hard line policy" in the sphere of strategic arms limitation and reduction talks who zealously declared SALT II "dead" have found themselves in an extremely unseemly position. According to the opinion of observers these hawks clearly underestimated not only the negative reaction to this step from the U.S. allies and world public opinion, but also the attitude to it within the country, including U.S. legislators.

"Currently," THE WASHINGTON POST notes, "the President is concerned not so much about the Russians as about Congress. His decision in the strategic arms limitation sphere was the straw that broke the backs of those who were concerned at his brusque manner of conducting talks." Indeed, the House of Representatives adopted a resolution calling on the President not to annul SALT II. Moreover, this resolution was ratified by the Senate Armed Services Committee, which, incidentally, is controlled by Republicans. A paradoxical situation has emerged, to put it bluntly. U.S. legislators, by opposing the President's actions in a most important foreign policy sphere, are effectively showing their lack of faith in him, while in response the U.S. chief executive has publicly accused the inhabitants of Capitol Hill of "attempting to undermine U.S. nuclear might" and "aiding and abetting the USSR."

Just why was the U.S. Administration's decision to no longer observe the provisions of the 1979 SALT agreement the last straw for the world-weary congressmen?

The fact is that in this case it was a question of the future of the entire process of limiting and reducing the arms race and removing the threat of nuclear war. The abandonment of SALT II violates the principle of equal security, simultaneously removes an obstacle to an arms race that could get out of control, and threatens to undermine subsequent talks in the disarmament sphere. These consequences ultimately run counter to the security interests of the United States itself. That is understood by millions of Americans, whose voice of protest has finally echoed in Congress.

The White House is now maneuvering. The other day the President even delivered a speech in Glassboro that his entourage is propagandizing as "conciliatory." But judgments are made on the basis of actions, not words. The attitude to SALT II is the touchstone against which the White House's loudest "peace-loving" statements are checked.

U.S. 'CHAMPION OF FREEDOM' ASSERTION DISPUTED

LD261249 Moscow TASS in English 1137 GMT 26 Jun 86

[Text] Moscow June 26 TASS -- TASS news analyst Ivan Ablamov writes:

In the recent address to the nation the U.S. President, in a bid to whitewash the administration's actions, portrayed the United States as almost a "champion of freedom, democracy and democratic values" in the world and even as a certain "shining light of hope" for all countries. However, Washington's clumsy attempts to present white as black and to describe itself as a "bulwark of freedom and democracy" are disproved by facts.

The facts indicate that the U.S. Administration within the framework of the policy of 'neo-globalism' and state terrorism gives overt support to the most reactionary forces in the world, to sanguinary dictatorial regimes, and to terrorists of every stripe, seeking to break down the peoples' struggle for freedom and democracy, social progress, peace and disarmament. The United States allocates hundreds of millions of dollars for these purposes every year overtly under the provisions of the foreign aid law which the Congress adopts and covertly through CIA channels. Washington lavishly finances the Seoul regime which practises most brutal reprisals against the South Korean population. The Pinochet junta -- the butcher of the Chilean people -- enjoys U.S. unlimited support and as lavish subsidies.

Is not it symbolical, for example, that the training ship "Esmeralda" of the Chilean Navy, which after the coup in Chile was converted by the military junta into a floating prison where political prisoners were subjected to tortures and done away with, has been invited by the Washington administration to New York to participate in the forthcoming celebration of the centenary of the Statue of Liberty.

The administration has secured the allocation of additional 100 million dollars to the Nicaraguan counter-revolutionaries that are referred to in Washington as "freedom fighters". It may be recalled that at least 11,000 Nicaraguans were killed by those terrorists over the past five years. While talking of democracy, the United States allocates 500 million dollars a year through various secret channels for aid to its hirelings in Afghanistan who killed thousands of innocent people, destroyed and burnt down dozens of factories, more than two thousand schools and over a half of all medical centres in the country.

The CIA has spent more than 100 million dollars to arm the terrorist bands of UNITA that practise atrocities in the territory of the People's Republic of Angola. About three million people have fallen victim to "secret wars" which U.S. secret services conduct in the developing countries.

The United States acts as the defender and patron of the inhuman system of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa, regarding the latter, according to the Braziiian newspaper "JORNAL DO BRAZIL", as the USA's true ally in the realisation of U.S. plans for world domination.

Every year billions of dollars are spent on aid to Tel Aviv, to Zionist storm troopers, who through reprisals and violence try to implant "freedom" in the occupied Arab territories. And what can one say about "freedom" which Washington brought to Grenada by the bayonets of the U.S. Marines?

Such is the true visage of the U.S. "fighters for freedom and democracy", the visage which cannot be prettified by any verbal cosmetics.

AMERICAN MODEL OF DEMOCRACY, FREEDOM EXAMINED

LD280859 Moscow International Service in Polish 1300 GMT 27 Jun 86

[Text] In the next part of the Radio Moscow program, we invite you to listen to a commentary by Valeriy Bushuyev, a journalist writing on international subjects, entitled "Political Spying on the American Model:"

As we have already said, the recently concluded conference of experts of 33 European states, the United States and Canada on interhuman contacts between organizations and institutions in Berne was torpedoed by the American delegation. Literally on the verge of ending the proceedings, a compromise draft final document was worked out on the basis of a proposal of the neutral states, which suited all participants of the meeting. All delegations approved it, including the American one, in the initial stage of procedure. Nevertheless, on the night before the close of proceedings, a telephone call from Washington resounded and the American representative, Michael Novak, withdrew from the stance taken previously by the U.S. delegation. In this way, Washington's ruling circles, in practice, gave proof of their real attitude toward contacts between East and West in relation to human rights.

And yet, during the proceedings, this same Novak was literally jumping out of his skin instructing other countries, above all the socialist ones, on how these rights should be respected, proclaiming the United States as virtually the model of democracy and freedom. What this model is like in reality is proved eloquently enough by facts which the great press in the United States and American progaganda in foreign countries prefer to pass over in silence.

Relatively recently, a group of lawyers, after 7 years of effort, managed to gain access to the archives of the Department of Special Police in Chicago, which for many years performed the function of a secret police. The documents confirmed what many Americans either knew on the basis of their own experience or suspected. It transpired that for many years, the police in Chicago, contrary to the law, conducted surveillance of citizens and organizations whose activity did not, at the least, clash with the law. The objects of this intense interest of the gendarmes were numerous inhabitants of the most free country in the free world, who dared to protest against the dirty war in Indochina, against racism and discrimination in their own state. Even the clergy and such organizations as the League of Women Voters found themselves in the line of fire. These people committed no crimes, declared lawyer Richard Goodman after acquainting himself with the documents. They simply made use of their political rights, however, the police attempted to intimidate them.

It soon transpired that similar lawlessness was flourishing not only in Chicago. Police agents were conducting surveillance of people with different convictions in 33 U.S. states. Acting under the auspices of institutions defending the law, informers operated in New York, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Buffalo, Miami, Detroit, Cleveland, Boston and New Orleans. Political spying under the pretext of the fight against crime took on a nationwide scale, Goodman stated. At the same time, this was not limited exclusively to the entry of names of disloyal people onto the police files. People were secretly photographed, police informers and provocateurs were sent to them, their post [words indistinct] and bugging equipment was installed in their homes and workplaces.

Other methods from the police arsenal -- which to some people demonstrating political naivete seem inconceivable in contemporary America -- were also employed. These were thefts, robberies, attacks, killings, slander and defamation. At the same time, the police (?were not against) making use of the services declared by ultra-right-wing terrorist organisations on the model of the Ku Klux Klan.

As always, the American press that sees sensations regarding the socialist countries, not only did not see anything sensational in the exposure of police activity in Chicago and in other U. S. cities but did the authorities a favor by maintaining silence on all the information that was dangerous for the vaunted American [word indistinct].

The revealing documents, acquired with such effort from the police archives, returned again to their shelves, on the strength of instructions from the federal authorities.

Nevertheless, the truth cannot be hidden for very long. New leaks revealed that in Florida, the right-hand man of one of the sheriffs, spied on the activities of the local movement for freezing the arms race and blackmailed activists of this movement over 7 months. In Montana, plain clothes policemen investigated the participants of a peaceful demonstration, threatening them with secret trial. Police provocation in Arizona, where informers infiltrated the milieu of striking miners and that of members of organizations, protesting against the equipping of planes deployed in that state with death-carrying arms, who had been declared as terrorists, was also revealed. It transpired that the police also succeeded in introducing its agents into the membership of the Committee for Solidarity with the Salvadoran Nation, threatening activists of this organization with the severest measures of punishment for backing so-called terrorists.

As the bourgeois liberal weekly NATION wrote, America is being encompassed by a successive wave of police repression of an ever-growing scope, aimed at suppressing the smallest signs of authentic love of freedom, in contrast to that freedom which is declared by the rich of this world. In making successive attempts at establishing the rights and customs of a police state in the United States, echelons of the administration of justice, says NATION, are not afraid, at least, of accusations that their activity is contrary to the settlements of the Constitution. This is not surprising, as those advocating the same views operate in Washington. Both their secret and public protectors operate there.

GORBACHEV SENDS REPLY TO JAPAN'S NAKASONE

LD010935 Moscow TASS in English 0917 GMT 1 Jul 86

[Text] Tokyo July 1 TASS -- The Soviet Union stands for the development and strengthening of all-round ties with Japan -- in the political, commercial, economic, scientific, technological and cultural fields, and will use every possibility for that purpose. This is the Soviet Union's firm policy which takes account of the vital interests of the Soviet and Japanese peoples, said a reply message from Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone of Japan.

During a meeting here today Soviet ambassador to Japan Nikolay Solovyev handed over the message addressed to the head of the Japanese Government to Shintaro Abe, minister of foreign affairs of Japan.

In his message the Soviet leader pointed out that the results of the recent visit of the minister of foreign affairs of Japan to the U.S.S.R. were positively appraised in the Soviet Union, and noted that they were a graphic demonstration of how important it was for Soviet and Japanese statesmen to meet more often, to conduct a frank and honest discussion of problems of concern to the entire world and to both countries.

Mikhail Gorbachev highly assessed the two rounds of talks held by the ministers of foreign affairs of the U.S.S.R. and Japan this year and emphasized that the meetings had reaffirmed the indisputable truth that "if both sides think realistically, come to realize their tremendous responsibility before the living and succeeding generations, and demonstrate the striving to understand each other, concrete practical results will be fast in coming."

These talks "give grounds for arriving at the conclusion -- the road toward the establishment of political dialogue on which we are embarking now is the correct and promising direction in every respect," the message said.

"Solving questions of bilateral relations, we, however, cannot disregard their international aspect," the message went on. "We understand full well your concern over the lack of progress in the sphere of disarmament and, above all, nuclear disarmament. It is correct that much depends on the Soviet Union and the U.S. But it is likewise correct that now it is insufficient to watch the course of Soviet-American negotiations: Efforts should be made to promote their progress. Actions are needed, and vigorous actions at that, in order to rid humankind of the constant fear of destruction."

"The termination of nuclear explosions," the message emphasized, "could become the first step in this direction. Japan knows what a nuclear explosion is and what its consequences for the people are."

Mikhail Gorbachev expressed the confidence that Japan could say its weighty word and that many would heed its voice.

The message said that the Soviet Union and Japan could accomplish much together in order to make the current year, that the United Nations had proclaimed the international year of peace, a year of an all-out offensive on nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction.

Having thanked the prime minister for reiterating the invitation to visit Japan, Mikhail Gorbachev replied that "in the near future such a possibility may present itself." He also said that a visit by the head of the Japanese Government would be welcomed in the U.S.S.R.

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON 10TH PZPR CONGRESS

TV Shows Gorbachev Address

LD301212 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0930 GMT on 30 June begins a live relay from the 10th PZPR Congress in the Congress Hall of the Palace of Culture and Science in Warsaw. Delegates are shown taking their seats on the platform, followed by PZPR Central Committee Politburo member Tadeusz Porebski's invitation to CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev to speak. All stand and applaud as Gorbachev makes his way to the podium. Gorbachev mainly looks at the audience while speaking, and occasionally glances at notes. Camera alternates shots between Gorbachev, the platform, and the audience.

Shown left to right on screen are: Polish Defense Minister Florian Siwicki, an unidentified man, PZPR Central Committee Politburo candidate member Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, an unidentified man and woman, PZPR Central Committee Politburo members Jerzy Romanik, Hieronim Kubiak, and Zofia Crzyb, an unidentified man, PZPR Central Committee Politburo members Kazimierz Barcikowski and Jozef Gzyrek, Gorbachev's seat, PZPR Central Committee First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski, Porebski, Premier Zbigniew Messner, an unidentified man, PZPR Central Committee Politburo members Marian Wozniak, Tadeusz Czechowicz, Stanislaw Kalkus, Stanislaw Opalko, and Albin Siwak, and unidentified woman in a Communist Union of Polish Youth uniform, Henryk Jablonski, former Council of State chairman, PZPR Central Committee Politburo candidate member Jan Glowczyk, an unidentified military officer in general's uniform, and an unidentified man. Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze is see one row further back to the left.

All stand once again for prolonged applause as Gorbachev concludes his speech. He walks back to his seat, embraces Jaruzelski, and then joins in the applause. The relay ends at 1008 GMT.

Gorbachev Speech

LD301105 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0930 GMT 30 Jun 86

[Speech by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the 10th PZPR Congress at the Congress Hall of the Palace of Culture and Science in Warsaw -- live]

[Text] [Soviet announcer] The delegates of the congress will now be addressed by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, head of the CPSU delegation and general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

[Voice in Polish in Congress Hall] Comrades, we are resuming the deliberations. Please take your seats. I kindly request Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee...

[Soviet announcer interrupts] The platform is given to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. [applause as Gorbachev mounts rostrum]

[Gorbachev in Russian] Esteemed comrade chairman! Dear comrade delegates and guests of the congress. On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee I cordially greet the 10th PZPR Congress. [applause]

In addressing you, I would above all like to express the sincere respect and friendly feelings that Soviet Communists feel for their Polish like-minded partners and comrades-in-arms. [applause]

From this tribune I convey a warm greeting to all the fraternal Polish people. Soviet-Polish friendship and our fraternity constitute a great gain of our peoples, sealed in the joint struggle and labor of many generations of Polish and Soviet people. We are deeply touched by the expression of comradeship, confidence, and affection toward our party and people and by the kind words about the Soviet Union that sound out in this hall. I sincerely thank you for this. [applause]

Comrades! Both the friends and foes of Poland understand that your congress is taking place at a crucial stage of the country's history. It is summing up the results of a period of acute ideological-political confrontation and of heavy struggle, that required much effort for the normalization of the situation. It opens up the prospects for moving forward. It was far from always the case, nor was it for everyone the case, that the class-rooted content of the events that were taking place was readily visible. But their essence does not change because of this.

In the final analysis, this was a struggle for the very existence of socialism in Poland. And socialist Poland stood its ground and defended its revolutionary gains. This is the main result you have come with to your congress and on which we have the right to congratulate you today. [applause]

History will, without doubt, give the PZPR leadership, thousands and thousands of Polish Communists, all the partiots of the country, and both party and nonparty people their due for the fact that, supported by the solidarity of friends and allies and through their own efforts, they brought the country out of a dramatic situation and repulsed the onslaught of the enemies of socialism.

I think it is appropriate to mention here that socialist Poland is much indebted to its outstanding leader, Comrade Wojeiech Jaruzelski, to this energy and political farsightedness, to the breadth of his approach and his ability to find solutions for very difficult problems, to firmly defend the interests of his own people and the cause of socialism. And I am saying this, comrades, not out of a duty to be polite, but out of conviction. [applause]

We all heard with great interest the report of the PZPR Central Committee that was presented yesterday by Comrade Jaruzelski and acquainted ourselves with the draft Party Program, the first in the history of the PZPR. In these documents, an evaluation of the path covered is given. They contain a deep analysis of present-day Polish reality. The tasks of the next stage of socialist construction are formulated. Soviet Communists have an attitude of understanding and support for your plans for the future and hope in a comradely way that you will fulfill all that has been mapped out.

Your congress demonstrates once again that the PZPR is a vanguard force capable of uniting Polish society, of leading the country on the path of economic, social, and cultural progress. We have an interest, in a comradely way, in the successes of your plans and undertakings and in Poland's being a strong, independent socialist state, an active member of our community, and a firm link in it. And this is in line with the great interests of the Polish people and our common cause. [applause]

The close cooperation, the alliance of Poland and the Soviet Union, the two biggest European socialist states, is the essential condition for the successful development of our countries, and for stability and peace in Europe. It is for this reason that in the postwar years, including the period of sharp crisis when imperialist circles brought down torrents of lies on Poland, and hit it with economic sanctions, the Soviet people were alongside you, supported your country, and helped it as best it could.

I want to assure the congress and all Polish people that we will go on being your friends, in whatever weather. [prolonged applause]

Comrades, for understandable reasons, the 10th PZPR Congress is attracting particular attention from all communists and extensive political circles throughout the world. The crisis of the end of the seventies and beginning of the eighties which shook your society reflected its contradictions, but it also took in all the complexity of the contemporary antagonism between the two systems, and showed up in a heightened form the problems which socialism comes up against at this far from simple turning point in its development. That is why the lessons of the Polish crisis are important not only for Polish Communists.

The first of them, and perhaps the most significant, consists, in our opinion, in the fact that these events, in spite of all their complexity and ambiguity, showed clearly that socialism has put down deep roots. The working people of our countries cannot conceive of themselves outside it, and this means that the socialist gains are irreversible. As was accurately said in the report of Comrade Jaruzelski about this, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism have entered the national blood circulation, and socialist values and norms have become inseparable components of the public consciousness.

It has also been confirmed in full measure that socialism today appears as an international reality, as an alliance of states closely linked by political, economic, cultural, and defense interests. To threaten the socialist order, try to undermine it from outside, and tear one country or another from the socialist community means encroachment not only on the will of the people but also on the entire postwar order and, in the final analysis, on peace.

Another important conclusion may be said to concern the vital nerve of socialist society: the place and role of the working class, its party, and the significance of a strong and organic link between them. The rudiments of the theory of this issue are well-known. History has repeatedly proved that only the working class is capable of being the pioneer and inspirer, the chief force, of socialist construction, and that its party alone can organize and direct the energy of the popular masses toward creating a new society. The working class of your country and your party have every reason for being proud of the achievements of people's power. In a comparatively short time, in the 4 postwar decades, profound social transformations have been brought about, and what Polish patriots aspired to for centuries has been achieved -- the country's guaranteed independence, stable, and just borders.

Under the leadership of the PZPR, the workers, peasants, and the popular intelligentsia revived Poland from the ashes, created a modern industrial foundation, restored historic monuments, and protected the national culture and enriched it with new values. The parties of the alliance make their own constructive contribution to this creative work.

The Polish crisis, as has been said here at the congress, was not a protest by the workers against socialism. It was above all disagreement with those distortions of socialism in practice that pained the working class. The enemies of socialist Poland within the country and outside its boundaries were able to make use of such disagreement for their own ends. It is well-known what those in the West who hypocritically describe themselves as the friends of the Polish people were aiming at. They are not at all concerned about the fate of the Polish nation. Their aim is to dismantle socialism and to liquidate socialist gains, and the worse it is in Poland, the better it really is for them.

And this is also a lesson, reminding us that socialism is a historically new cause, a difficult one, connected with the need to overcome the opposition from imperialist forces, to withstand the economic, political-propaganda, and military pressure of imperialism.

Finally the experience of the preceding period has once again sharply revealed the danger of mistakes and of subjectivist deviations from the principles that lie at the base of the political system of socialism, of violating the norms of party and state life, of miscalculations in social and economic policy. The most reliable guarantee against these deviations is the creative development and use of Marxist-Leninist teachings, a close bond between the party and the working class, and the broad masses of working people: a bond which becomes a living and indestructible reality on the condition that the party clearly understands the people's needs and realistically assesses the country's possibilities at each given stage, and boldly paves the way to the future; but also, on the other hand, provided that each aware worker, working person, links his expectations in life to the party's policy, feels himself not simply the executor of its will but actively participates in the elaboration and putting into practice of the party's decisions.

And here is another conclusion which has, as it seems to us, a general and internationalist significance: The socialist revolution opens up scope for comprehensive progress in society. But this does not mean that this kind of progress is brought about automatically from henceforth, that production relations and productive forces have been brought into balance once and for all. The swift growth in production, in science and technology, in culture, in the very development of the human personality, makes new demands on the organization of society.

On the agenda comes the question of constant renewal of socialism on its own basis. Otherwise thromboses arise in social life, there are occurrences of stagnation, and economic and social problems can be aggravated to the danger level. Our party spoke clearly about this at its own 27th congress. The capacity for self-critical analysis, a sober assessment of one's own activity, drawing the necessary conclusions from mistakes and miscalculations in the past -- these are also part of the important forms of struggle for socialism. This is a fundamental principle of the successful activity of the party and the working class bequeathed to us by the great Lenin.

We have resolutely set a course for the acceleration of socioeconomic develvopment, the renewal of our life, purging it of everything that impedes the socialist order in developing its powerful political, economic, and spiritual potential. In point of fact, we all have the same aim: to learn, and as quickly as possible, to utilize the full force of the tremendous possibilities of our system, to find the optimum combination between the center and the localities, between the state and the social spheres, management and self-management; better to stimulate man's activity, his labor and political activity, his civic consciousness.

The need for a profound and comprehensive improvement of management and the management mechanism is now coming to the foreground. The main trend in this work is clear to us, it is a matter of resolving a double task: to raise the efficiency of the planning and organizing basis in determining ways of national economic development; and to open up in every way the scope for the initiative of the labor collectives. The nature of socialism, as is known, is expressed by the formula: from each according to his capacity, to each according to his labor. We are striving to ensure that the reality of this formula is confirmed in everyday life, that there should be no place for leveling down, that every encouragement should be given to conscientous, high-productivity labor, that the requirements of social justice are strictly met. For this, we are making use of economic levers, the force of conviction, and the force of the law.

As you see, the reorganization that we have actively begun brings a whole range of questions into a single tightly-knit unit -- questions beginning with the functioning of the management system and state and public institutions, and ending with the conditions of labor and life of the people and the moral atmosphere in society.

The June Plenum of the CPSU Entral Committee, which examined the topical questions of implementing the internal and foreign policies worked out by the 27th CPSU Congress, has become an important landmark on this path. The main significance of the plenum's decisions could be defined in the following way: Not a day must be wasted on getting into the swing of things, rates of movement forward must be accelerated and everything that still impedes creative, enterprising labor must be cast aside more boldly. Today, when a course for profound restructuring of all spheres of life and society has been adopted, the value of cadres, their authority, is determined primarily by a heightened sense of what is new, by competence and efficiency, and by the ability to truly take to heart the people's interests.

We take as our point of departure a Leninist approach: One should maximize knowledge of the facts and minimize controversy over verbal points under pretensions to communist principle. For this, one must learn modesty and respect for the businesslike work of specialists in science and technology. For this, one must learn how to make sufficient and careful analysis of our numerous practical errors and how to correct them gradually, but steadily.

Our parties are faced with a task of historic significance: to unite the social justice inherent in socialism with greater economic efficiency. We must, we are simply obligated to, make socialism stronger, developing dynamically and competing successfully with capitalist society on all parameters. And this requires, above all, complete and effective use of those truly inexhaustible possibilities which are opened up by the scientific-technical revolution.

It goes without saying that here, we must act together, uniting our efforts. This is required both by the national economic interests of our countries and the political situation in the international arena, and last but not least, by considerations of economic security. We must admit, after all, that we understood too late what kind of traps are laid on the trading routes leading to the West. It has been discussed here what great losses have been suffered by Poland, and not by it alone. The very idea that it is simpler to buy from the capitalist market than to make it yourself, has already done harm. Now we are decisively uprooting such inclinations in our country. It is not, of course, a matter of folding up economic links with the West. It is a different matter. It is a matter of making rational use of them, eliminating excesses and preventing dependence. Priority must be given, of course to cooperative ties with the fraternal countries and to accelerating the process of socialist and economic integration.

The implementation of the integrated program for scientific and technical progress, adopted within the CEMA framework, will have major significance in this respect. Soviet-Polish links, which are developing on an upward trend, also fit in well with this general strategy. During the current 5-year plan period, the scope of trade turnover between our countries will increase substantially. At the same time, life demands that new forms of cooperation, the most forward-looking ones, be introduced more energetically. It demands the setting-up of joint enterprises and unified collectives of scientists and specialists, and the development of direct links between industrial enterprises and scientific-research organizations. I will be frank -- our delegation was pleased to learn from speeches made at the congress that the first steps in this direction are already bearing good fruit. Let us follow that course boldly and expansively, and sparing no effort. It will be repaid a hundred-fold.

Comrades! At the conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member-states in Budapest 3 weeks ago, we jointly discussed the development of the international situation, and came to an agreement on how we should all behave in the future. As everyone knows, the UN declared 1986 Peace Year. The socialist states adopted a very serious approach to this. In January, we proposed a program for stage-by-stage elimination of nuclear weapons by the end of the century. In February, at the 27th CPSU Congress, the idea was announced of setting up a comprehensive international security system. This was followed by radical proposals facilitating the possibility of an agreement on the removal of medium-range missiles from Europe. The possibility was not neglected of the search for special accords with the West European nuclear powers, Britain and France. Measures were proposed for the removal of the chemical threat. In May, the Soviet Union, for the third time, extended its moratorium on nuclear tests, which will thus cover a whole year. And finally, in June, our countries proposed a comprehensive plan for the reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons on the entire European Continent, from the Atlantic to the Urals.

What more ought to be needed, it would appear? But, alas, the cause of disarmament has not moved forward, not even by a single millimeter. It has not moved forward because of the open obstruction from the American Administration. Worse than this, Washington is frustrating the last brakes that have still been holding back the arms race, the SALT II treaty and other Soviet-American agreements. This position cuts across the vital interests of the world community, and accords in no way with the spirit of the accord that was reached last year in Geneva. American figures are liberal with their grand-sounding statements about their desire for peace and disarmament, but they act in an opposite way, and they try to justify their sabotage of this sacred cause by fabrications about imagined violations by us of this or that provision in the treaties concluded with the United States. They also talk about the last word having apparently not yet been said, about a change in their position being possible if the Soviet Union behaves well.

One could be humorous about such claims by the U.S. Administration to act as a schoolteacher, alloting marks for behavior to sovereign states. But this is not a subject for jokes. After all, what is at risk is no more, no less than the survival of mankind, and we think that all politicians are obliged to approach the problem with supreme seriousness. This concerns, of course, not only Washington. It is impossible not to express regret at the fact that the governments of other NATO states, including those who, in words, distance themselves from the dangerous extremes of U.S. policy, in the final analysis yield to pressure from across the ocean and thus take upon themselves their portion of responsibility for the intensification of the arms race.

The ancient Greeks have a myth about the abduction of Europa. This fairy tale subject has unexpectedly acquired contemporary content. It goes without saying that, as a geographical concept, Europe will remain where it is. But one gets the impression that the independent policy of some West European states has been kidnapped and is being transported across the ocean, that under the pretext of protecting security, both the national interests and destinies of the 700-million-strong population of our continent, and the civilizations that have been developed here since time immemorial, are being sold off.

Let no one misunderstand us, we are not attempting to drive a wedge between the United States and its NATO allies. In holding talks, we proceed from the political and military realities that exist on the continent. At one time, the socialist countries welcomed the participation of the United States in the general European process. At that time it was a matter of the contribution of all its participants to the cause of security and cooperation in Europe.

Now, however, it seems that the U.S. Administration has conceived the idea of acting toward directly contrary goals; the whipping up of the arms race and confrontation.

Who benefits from this? Do the European peoples really have an interest in such a development of events? It goes without saying that the Soviet Union and other socialist states are drawing their own conclusions from the challenging militaristic actions of Washington. We will provide the firmest resistance to the adventurist and destructive actions of the United States. It must not be permitted that U.S. imperialism should determine the fate of the world according to its own caprice.

Our policy will continue to be a responsible policy, patiently laying the foundations to smooth out Soviet-U.S. relations. We are in favor of dialogue, but this should be a dialogue in which both sides want to reach real results. It must not be permitted that talks turn into a smokescreen concealing the arms race. We are no partners for Washington in such a deception of the world public.

Peace can only be preserved by joint efforts of all states and all peoples. It is necessary for everyone in the West to understand. Any launch of a missile carrying nuclear weapons is in fact an act not only of murder but also of suicide.

The Chernobyl accident has given a fresh reminder of the awesome power of the atom. Comrades, I would like to thank you for the solidarity displayed in connection with this disaster that befell us. We know that the edge of our disaster touched on you as well, and so your support is all the more dear for us. [applause]

When we speak of Chernobyl, we must bear in mind that only the tiniest part of the destructive force contained in the nuclear weapons which have been accumulated in the world, went out of control. We resolutely advocate their elimination. We sincerely hope that the alarmed voices, both of our own and of their public, will finally reach responsible political circles of the countries of Western Europe. But as long as there exists a real threat of imperialist aggression, the socialist states are forced to concern themselves with their own security. That is the aim served by the Warsaw Pact, in the context of which our troops, together with their brothers-in-arms, are doing their service for peace, including service on the territory of a number of allied states. The socialist countries will not allow anyone to look upon them as living space for alien appetites and for revanchist aspirations.

We say to the West: Take seriously our proposals about eliminating medium-range nuclear missile weapons; take seriously the proposals about reducing conventional armaments and the possibility will be opened up for a substantial reduction in tension on the continent. Our troops in other countries do not stand at a dead anchor: But if the anchor is to be raised this must be done simultaneously, and by everyone. The socialist states consider it their duty to facilitate good and mutually beneficial cooperation of the peoples of the continent, to build bridges of cooperation everywhere possible: in sports, cultural exchange, trade, scientific-technological cooperation, industrial joint production, and contacts among people. It is thus, and only thus, that we will be able to consolidate everything that unifies Europe, regardless of the differences in social structure that exist.

Comrades! Human civilization has arrived at a fork in the road of history, not only in what concerns issues of war and peace.

We have entered an age in which the inseparable connection between the right to life and the right to development is being felt increasingly keenly.

Can one reconcile oneself to the fact that colossal financial resources are channeled into arms while hundreds of millions of people in the world are starving and millions die each year from hunger. It is chiefly the peoples of the developing countries that are poverty-stricken. But the problem of poverty has not bypassed developed imperialist states, including the United States, either. A state that allocates more than $300 billion per annum for arms cannot -- or even worse does not wish to -- feed its hungry, teach its illiterates, or provide a roof for its homeless.

The increasing gap between the economically developed and weakly developed countries is one of the most acute problems. Here, too, one cannot call the actions of the imperialists anything other than international usury, or in quite simply blunt terms, plundering.

Imperialism is more and more tightly entangling dozens of countries in the net of both financial and technological dependence. Nor does it abandon old methods of applying brute force. Our position on this matter is well-known. Each people has the right to determine its fate in a soverign manner. This is a principal without which there cannot be normal international relations. [applause].

We have been striving and will continue to strive to achieve a restructuring of the international political and economic order on sensible and fair foundations and to give support to all anti-imperialist movements and organizations irrespective of their social orientation. We are living in an exceptionally complex age in which, on a global scale, contradictory trends have become entwined and are grappling with each other: socialist revolution and the fierce opposition of forces that are departing from the historical arena, the stormy rise of scientific-technical progress and its reverse side threatening life itself on earth, remarkable achievements in all spheres of science and art opposed to degradation which finds expression in the mass culture being engendered by imperialism, luxury against a backdrop of poverty and hunger amid plenty, a powerful movement toward interdependence and getting closer together opposed to alienation and hostility between countries and groups of states of the modern world. All this gives rise, among a considerable number of people, to hesitation in the mind and fear of the future.

Inquiring thought and testing it in socio-political practice have become the slogan of our parties at the present crucial stage of historical development. We will support everything that serves the real interests of peoples and the cause of peace and social justice and the progress of mankind. We resolutely reject everything that contradicts these aims.

Our revolutionary teaching is a powerful instrument of knowledge. It makes it possible to evaluate as a whole the contradictions of an age, to reveal their causes and to find correct answers to vital problems. But it, too, requires constant developments. Today we can say that communists have firmly mastered the major lesson. It is necessary to boldly develop our theory and to constantly move forward.

Dear comrades! Soviet Communists know that the cause of socialism in fraternal Poland is in reliable hands.

Permit me, with all my heart, to wish success to the 10th PZPR Congress. We express the confidence that Soviet-Polish friendship and cooperation will develop and grow stronger for the good of our peoples and the entire socialist community.

Long live socialist Poland. Long live peace and progress! [applause]

TV Reports 30 June Session

LD302134 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 30 Jun 86

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The PZPR Congress delegates today discussed the Central Committee's review report made by Comrade Jaruzelski. The speakers talked about what has to be done in order to strengthen the party's leading role in the life of Polish society and to achieve acceleration of the country's economic development. The work of the congress is proceeding in a businesslike atmosphere. Sincerity, a critical approach to problems, and an ardent interest in practical resolution of them are characteristic traits of the speeches.

[Video shows Messner at rostrum] In the afternoon, the report of the Polish People's Republic's Council of Ministers on the guidelines for the country's socioeconomic development in 1986-90 and up to 1995 was devlivered by Zbigniew Messner, member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers. He stressed that the recession in the country's economy has been halted; noticeable growth of national income has been achieved; and living conditions for working people have improved. The economic program presented by the government, Comrade Messner indicated, plans for further development of these favorable tendencies.

[Video shows Gorbachev and Jaruzelski in crowd of people, talking to them and to each other] Following the end of the evening session, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Wojciech Jaruzelski met delegates to the party forum in the corridors of the congress. There was a frank and friendly chat. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev reaffirmed the solidarity of the CPSU and of all the Soviet people with the efforts of the Polish Communists to consolidate socialist gains.

The congress will continue its work tomorrow.

Warsaw TV Interviews Gorbachev

LD302000 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 30 Jun 86

[Interview with CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev "during one of the recesses in the proceedings" of the PZPR Congress by an unidentified reporter; Gorbachev and reporter speak in Russian with superimposed Polish translation -- recorded]

[Text] [Unidentified reporter] Mikhail Sergeyevich, could you say a few words for Polish television please. I represent the first program of our television.

[Gorbachev] Fine. But if I cannot cope, Comrade Wojciech will have to help me out.

[Reporter] How do you see the atmosphere of our congress?

[Gorbachev] It so happens that the atmosphere of your congress reminds me of the atmosphere of the 27th CPSU Congress. These congresses are very close in their atmosphere, their problem range, the manner of looking at not only today -- and then not just at the situation in our states, the socialist states, but in the world -- but also into the future.

I think that it was characteristic of both these congresses -- both for our 27th and for your 10th -- that they are filled with frank, honest party talk. It is open not just to communists but to all people, to our states, to the entire world. There lies the strength of our parties: They speak about what there is, about problems which we face, not easy problems, and about what has to be done now. My view is that this kind of frank, honest talk will gain support, that it will be heard, understood and precisely supported through our people's work.

[Reporter] Much is said now about the strategy of acceleration. I have one more question closely related to this. Can one think in terms of the establishment of a socialist common market? I am thinking of speeding up the development of economic relations between the so.ialist states.

[Gorbachev] That is a good question. I think that everything that has existed so far is a closed stage in our contacts. Today all our countries have developed economically, scientifically, and technically, as well as from the point of view of the readiness of our societies. They are educated societies, capable of accepting modern technology. Therefore, we are capable of looking differently at our economic relations. I think that, if so far we simply have had goods exchange, now our economic relations will be characterized by a high level of development, cooperation contacts, and direct contacts between collectives. In order for this to become so, however, we still have to do some work. Much still has to be cleared from the path.

[Reporter] And one more question....

[Gorbachev, interrupting] And you said it was going to be a short statement, just one question. It is always like that. [laughter]

[Reporter] What about the Soviet-U.S. meeting? We get many reports from our viewers and they are all very interested in this question.

[Gorbachev] That is an important question too. We are all living in an unsafe world and that worries everyone. From the speeches by delegates at your congress, I can also see that it worries the Polish people, not just party members but all people. Unfortunately, there are grounds for that state. There are many weapons in the world. If, however, the arms race moves to a new sphere -- into space -- if new types of weapons are created with new features, then it will be very difficult to sit down at a negotiating table. Even today it is already difficult. That is why even the smallest opportunity for halting the arms race, (?for peace), must be taken. That is what our conception of eliminating nuclear weapons by the year 2000 is built on. It is an idea which we thought up and elaborated together. We presented it in January this year. Precisely because the Soviet Union has a special role in this field, we cannot, on the other hand, negate the role of the United States. That is why not just dialogue is necessary but productive dialogue is necessary. Productive talks are necessary. Realistic accords are necessary so that some two or threee specific steps can be taken and the process started. We think that that is precisely what the new meeting should bring about. If it does not do so, it will be of no use to anyone.

[Reporter] If I understand the language of diplomacy, there is no pessimism in this statement?

[Gorbachev] No. I think that that which we see, which is happening in the U.S. society itself, and even in the Congress, shows that there, too, such worries exist. If there are such worries, we hope that reason will finally prevail.

Concluding his speech, Comrade Jaruzelski said what optimism was based on, the PZPR's optimism. I would like to add that our optimism, too, as far as matters of peace are concerned and its prospects, is not just wishful thinking. We are building on a strong foundation, on our strength, on our will for peace, on our constructive policies and on the fact that all people possess reason -- the U.S. people and all other people. For us this is a basis for hope. We have that hope.

[Reporter] I do not want to detain you any longer. Thank you very much.

[Gorbachev] I would like to wish all Poles, all our brothers in Poland many successes.

[Reporter] Thank you very much.

[Gorbachev] And that Poland may flourish.

Gorbachev, Jaruzelski Visit Exhibit

LD010446 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0104 GMT 1 Jul 86

[Text] During a break in congress' work, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Wojciech Jaruzelski visited an exhibition dedicated to the history of the Polish working class and communist movement set up in the foyer of the Hall of Congresses on the occasion of the 10th PZPR Congress. They warmly conversed with delegates to the forum of the Polish Communists. In the evening the CPSU delegation attended a concert of classical music in the Warsaw (Lazienki) Park. Today the 10th PZPR Congress will continue to work.

Gorbachev Tours Warsaw Factory

LD010810 Moscow TASS in English 0806 GMT 1 Jul 86

[Text] Warsaw July 1 TASS -- A CPSU delegation led by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, attending the 10th Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party, visited the Warsaw-based Karol Swierczewski Factory of high precision measuring instruments, one of the largest modern manufacturing facilities in the Polish capital.

The Soviet guests toured the workshops and acquainted themselves with the factory's products.

A Soviet-Polish friendship rally was held at the factory.

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON 13TH LCY CONGRESS

Zarkovic Report

PM301002 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jun 86 First Edition p 4

[Unnamed PRAVDA special correspondent and TASS report: "In the Vanguard of the Working People; 13th LCY Congress Opens in Belgrade"]

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Jun -- The 13th LCY Congress opened today in the SFRY's capital.

More than 1,500 delegates representing 2,168,000 Communists attended in the ceremonially decorated "Sava" Palace of Congresses. Among them were veterans of the revolution, participants in the national liberation war, labor front-rankers, party and economic workers, cultural figures, scientists, and Yugoslav People's Army servicemen.

On instructions from the LCY Central Committee the congress was opened by V. Zarkovic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. The "Internationale" was sung in the hall. The congress presidium and other working organs were elected. Those present warmly welcomed the foreign guests -- envoys from communist and workers parties and other revolutionary organizations and movements. Among them was the CPSU delegation headed by G.A. Aliyev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

The agenda was approved. The delegates will discuss a report on the LCY Central Committee's work since the previous congress, adopt resolutions defining the LCY's tasks in the next few years, examine the proposed changes to the party statutes, and elect LCY leading organs.

V. Zarkovic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, took the rostrum to deliver the report "The LCY in the Struggle To Further Develop a Socialist, Self-Managing, and Nonaligned Yugoslavia."

Report of Comrade Vidoje Zarkovic

Belgrade, 25 Jun -- V. Zarkovic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, delivered a report at the 13th LCY Congress, which opened here today.

The working class and Yugoslavia's peoples and ethnic groups headed by the LCY have fundamentally changed the country's makeup in the postwar period, he said. Great results have been achieved in developing society's productive forces. Over this period global social product has increased by more than 600 percent and total industrial output has risen by 1,600 percent. The country has achieved considerable successes in education, culture, science, and technology.

At the same time, the report states, the party has approached the 13th congress at a time when there are acute economic problems in the country and social contradictions have emerged. There are stagnant phenomena in the country's development, the unity between the federation and the LCY has weakened, and there has been a departure from the implementation of the planned goals. All this has led to the emergence of a crisis in the economy and other spheres of social life. In particular the reasons for this include the extensive development of the economy, the inadequate attention devoted to socialist self-management and the elaboration of unified economic and social development plans, and imbalances in economic structure. Yugoslavia's foreign debt has also grown. All this is the result of deviating from the main provisions of the SFRY Constitution and LCY congress resolutions.

The discrepancy between planned goals and practice has arisen as a result of serious shortcomings in the activity of the LCY and other forces in Yugoslav society and in the development of production relations. The LCY has failed to show sufficient persistence in the struggle against trends which have led to a crisis and run profoundly counter to the processes of transforming Yugoslav society on the principles of socialist self-management. Many party organizations have approached the resolution of important political and economic questions from the standpoint of local self-interest.

Along with the unfavorable phenomena in the economy, V. Zarkovic continued, the negative processes in the ideological sphere have intensified.

Hostile antisocialist trends have been seen more clearly and the penetration of alien ideology has been more open. Their supporters, exploiting the difficulties in society, are trying to compromise the LCY and the system of socialist self-management, to create an atmosphere of ideological and political chaos in the country, and to sow lack of faith in the future among the people. Under the influence of the propaganda activity of right-wing forces in the world and the difficulties being experienced by the country, elements which deny the gains of the working class and all working people -- socialist gains -- are making their presence felt.

The economic crisis in Yugoslavia has also deepened as a result of unfavorable international conditions. Protectionist measures with regard to the developing countries, economic sanctions, and other means of economic and political pressure have had a detrimental effect. Great harm has been done to the Yugoslav economy as a result of unjust international economic relations and protectionist measures in international trade.

In the period between the 12th and 13th congresses, when the economic crisis and the stagnant phenomena in other spheres of social life reached their peak, the LCY strove to critically analyze the prevailing situation in depth, to reveal its main causes,and to outline ways of eradicating the difficulties. Considerable efforts were made to strengthen party unity and step up the struggle for economic and political stability.

In this regard the report pointed to the great importance of the all-party discussion launched in accordance with the resolution of the LCY Central Committee 13th plenum on the questions of strengthening the party's leading role in society and strengthening its ideological unity and the unity of its actions.

Currently, V. Zarkovic stressed, the main task for society headed by the LCY is to mobilize the working class, the working people, and all progressive forces to create the prospects for the country's further dynamic economic and social development. The party must define specific ways of removing all obstacles in the way of social progress and indicate the potential for people's creative labor.

The task of the 13th congress is to elaborate a unified assessment of the causes of the unfavorable situation in the country, to respond first and foremost to the question of the further development of the state, and to promote the strengthening of LCY unity. The 13th LCY Congress must be a congress of the strengthening of unity in the country and the party, a congress of actions reflecting unity of words and deeds. In adopting cogent and clear resolutions the congress is called upon to outline the prospects for the consistent growth and strengthening of the leading role of the working class and for uncompromising and effective struggle to eradicate all obstacles in the way of the dynamic development of Yugoslav society.

The main aims of the long-term economic stabilization program must be reaffirmed at the congress. The congress' decisions will promote the heightening of activeness and a responsible attitude to the task of ensuring the accelerated and consistent fulfillment of this program and to the creation of prospects for the country's dynamic economic development.

The main speaker went on to note that the lack of coordination in the Yugoslav economy is now increasingly an obstacle in the way of boosting productive forces and is the cause of the country's economic lag. Yugoslav society must develop in line with the modern scientific and technical revolution. However, the entire system for organizing scientific and technical activity is lagging behind society's urgent demands.

Science and technology must be developed on a broad footing -- from scientifically substantiated labor at each workplace to the analysis of ways to ensure the country's further progress.

The education system must be approached as an important factor in the development of science and the implementation of its achievements. The LCY must struggle to transform the education system and ensure that it has close links with production. It is impossible to achieve modern standards in productive forces without strengthening unity or without constant creative and scientific activity.

Touching on the question of working people's participation in running society's affairs, V. Zarkovic said that without extensive participation by working people in management there could be no developed democracy and it would be impossible for the working class to attain a leading position in society. A great role should be played here by the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia as a broad front of democratic forces and as the political foundation of socialist democracy. The LCY believes that not a single important problem on which the future of Yugoslav society depends can be successfully resolved without mobilizing all of young people's knowledge and revolutionary enthusiasm.

The report devoted great attention to improving the political system of Yugoslav society and, first and foremost, to enhancing the role of the working class. The great importance of party activity to strengthen the brotherhood and unity of the SFRY's peoples and ethnic groups and to develop the political system on the basis of socialist self-management was noted. The need to expand the autonomy [samostoyatelnost] and initiative of labor collectives, to enhance their role in running production, and to develop integrated processes in the country's economy was pointed out.

The Yugoslav Federation, which was created in the furnace of the national liberation struggle, is the supreme gain of the socialist revolution, the main speaker stressed. The Yugoslav Federation is based on the equal rights of nations and the power of the working class. However, isolationist trends [tendentsii k obosoblennosti] have recently emerged among republics and autonomous provinces. As a result the adoption of resolutions of Yugoslav-wide importance has been delayed. The LCY vigorously opposes such phenomena. Nationalist trends have recently intensified too. Nationalism has penetrated various spheres of life -- from economic and political relations to the cultural sphere. Communists must be in the front ranks of the struggle against nationalism.

Touching on the tasks of Yugoslavia's socioeconomic development, V. Zarkovic stated that it is based on the consistent implementation of the long-term economic stabilization program. Boosting social production and labor productivity, improving labor organization, restructuring and modernizing the economy, and actively involving Yugoslavia in the international division of labor are the most important tasks.

Great attention should be devoted to power generation, transportation, and agriculture, to stepping up production of goods for export, to making maximum use of all reserves and production capacities, and to using raw and other materials rationally. Science and technology are called upon to play and important role in this matter. Reducing the inflation rate is currently a task of paramount importance. It is one of the main conditions for overcoming the current economic difficulties.

Social policy is a substantial factor in the country's material and social progress. The LCY must wage a resolute struggle to rapidly overcome social differences in society.

It is necessary to vigorously put a stop to corruption, speculation, and cases of embezzlement of public property. The high unemployment rate is one of the most serious sociopolitical problems and must be resolved on a priority basis.

In recent years Yugoslav society has seen manifestations of ideological and political views expressed from the standpoint of bourgeois ideology. There have been attempts to undermine socialist gains. Nationalists and clerics are acting in league with antisocialist elements.

Overcoming current difficulties and fulfilling the tasks of the contemporary stage of Yugoslav society's development, the main speaker stressed, is impossible without the participation in their implementation of all society's forces headed by the LCY. The party must strengthen its ties with the masses, resolutely eschew paper-pushing, and become the organizer of the development of specific programs aimed at resolving the tasks facing the country. Success is only possible if the party ensures the utilization of all the existing potential and defends the interests of the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, and all society's social groups.

The LCY's ranks must be augmented first and foremost with those who recognize their revolutionary role and are prepared to struggle to build the new society. We must persistently improve the ideological education system and improve party members' ideological and political level.

The section of the report on the international situation notes that in the period between the two congresses the situation in the world has deteriorated. Among the global questions of the day the struggle for peace and the prevention of nuclear war is the most important, V. Zarkovic said. Peace and international cooperation are the main condition not only for mankind's progressive development but for its existence.

We must constantly remember that the consequences of a nuclear war would be catastrophic for mankind. The continuation of the arms race and the spreading of it to space urged by the ruling circles and military-industrial complex in the United States and certain West European countries are fraught with the threat of the arms race getting out of control. Yugoslavia resolutely condemns this course and categorically demands that measures be taken aimed at stopping the arms race and banning nuclear weapons and that the process of total and universal disarmament be begun.

We welcomes the resumption of dialogue between the USSR and the United States, the report said, and pinned on it our hopes for the prospects of a return to detente and the reaching of new agreements in the disarmament sphere. Unfortunately this was not the case. Moreover, the U.S. Government is stating its intention to abandon observance of the SALT II treaty, which could lead to unforeseen consequences. Under these conditions it is necessary to step up the activity of all progressive political forces aimed at supporting the disarmament policy. The achievement of substantive progress in this sphere would be of great importance in 1986, which the United Nations has declared International Peace Year.

Going on to dwell on the role of the Nonaligned Movement in the struggle for peace and international security, the speaker said that it is impossible to ensure lasting and just peace while the world community is divided into rich and poor. It is necessary to take urgent measures to solve this range of problems and to promote the creation of a new international economic order. The paramount political and economic problem of the day is the developing countries' excessive debt burden. Mankind must solve this problem in the interests of progress and peace. The forthcoming conference of the developing countries' heads of state and government in Harare is called upon to be a new step along the road of solving the concrete political and economic problems of the modern world.

The struggle for progress and socialism is inseparable from the struggle for peace. The observance of the principles of sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, the right of peoples to an independent and free path of development, the inviolability of borders, and noninterference in the internal affairs of other countries are the main tasks for the planet's progressive forces. Yugoslavia will continue to strive to develop all-around relations with all states and to observe the principles of the UN Charter, the Final Act of the all-European Helsinki Conference, and all other international and bilaterial agreements and accords. Yugoslavia will continue to strive to develop all-around relations with all states and to observe the principles of the UN Charter, the Final Act of the all-European Helsinki Conference, and all other international and bilateral agreements and accords. Uygoslavia is profoundly interested in peace, stability, and cooperation in the Balkans.

Under present conditions an important role for the cause of the peoples' peace and security is played by the contribution of socialist and other progressive forces. At the same time world peace is threatened by the anticommunist ideology and propaganda of conservative forces which have been elevated to the rank of state policy. This policy is aimed against the historic struggle of the working class and the broad people's masses and seriously undermines international relations.

The LCY will continue to devote unremitting attention to developing all-around cooperation with communist, socialist, social democratic, workers, and other progressive parties and national liberation movements. The LCY will continue to make its contribution to the struggle for peace, social progress, and socialism.

In conclusion, V. Zarkovic said: We have clear prospects for developing Yugoslav society on the basis of socialist self-management, we have immense potential and a millions-strong army of working poeple who are steadfastly following the LCY program and policy and are fully resolved through their creative labor to promote the further development of society's productive forces and the speediest surmounting of economic difficulties. In the course of preparations for the 13th cc gress the Communists and all working people reaffirmed their resolve to carry out the tasks facing the country.

The written report on LCY activity and the work of the LCY Central Committee in the intercongress period that was distributed to delegates notes that socialism as a world process is having a major influence on social and international processes. The forces struggling for peace, detente, cooperation on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, and social progress are growing stronger.

At the same time, the report says, the forces gambling on the possibility of waging a "limited nuclear war" are becoming more and more aggressive. The pressure exerted by the forces of imperialism and neocolonialism, which are trying to turn back the course of history and impose new forms of dependence and subordination, has grown. Along with the deepening of the crisis of capitalism the activity of right-wing forces is intensifying on the international level. Unleashing an aggressive propaganda campaign with a clearly expressed anticommunist thrust, they oppose progressive transformations in various parts of the world. The forces of revanchism, neofascism, and racism are also being stepped up.

The main task of the SFRY's foreign policy is to contribute to solving urgent international problems, which will enhance the country's prestige in the international arena.

The report points out that Soviet-Yugoslav relations have been developing successfully in the period which has elapsed. The dialogue and exchange of opinions between the two countries at all levels are being maintained. The experience and results achieved in developing bilateral relations confirm that the fundamental principles asserted in jointly adopted documents are the adamantine basis for their further development.

This accords with the two countries' interests. The high level of Soviet-Yugoslav economic cooperation and the good prospects for its further successful development are of particular importance.

The SFRY and the LCY have been devoting great attention to cooperation with the socialist countries. Ties with the CPSU and the parties of the other socialist states have developed on a program basis.

PRAVDA Reports Proceedings

PM301515 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jun 86 Second Edition p 4

[Special correspondents V. Mikhaylov, V. Sharov report under the rubric "13th LCY Congress"" "In a Businesslike Atmosphere"]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 26 Jun -- The supreme forum of the LCY is continuing its work in the Sava Palace of Congresses in Belgrade. The delegates are discussing the results of the work done in the period under review and the next tasks in socialist building.

Six commissions began work yesterday at the congress, after the plenary session. The delegates' attention is focused on topical questions of the country's socioeconomic development, party building, and LCY foreign policy. The speakers are supporting the conclusions and evaluations given in the account of the LCY Central Committee's work submitted to the congress and in the report by Vidoje Zarkovic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, "The LCY in the Struggle for the Further Development of a Socialist, Self-Managing, and Nonaligned Yugoslavia."

The SFRY working people are legitimately proud of the significant results which they have achieved under LCY leadership during the years of socialist building. Their motherland has become a developed industrial and agrarian state.

At the present stage the Yugoslav Communists' party, expressing the working people's vital interests, is concentrating efforts on resolving topical problems in the interests of the further development of the economy and the growth of the people's well-being. In the period between congresses a long-term program for economic stabilization was adopted, an analysis of the functioning of the political system was carried out, and new plans were adopted for the country's development. Keen criticism of omissions and shortcomings characterized the party debate, in the course of which many constructive proposals were put forward.

"Our forum is taking place in complex conditions," Anton Zrnic, worker at the Zenica Metallurgical Combine who was recently elected member of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina Central Committee Presidium, said from the congress platform. "The difficult economic situation has not yet been overcome."

The congress participants believe that the struggle for economic stabilization remains the party's main task in the coming period. There was approval for the LCY Central Committee principle on ensuring stable growth in production this year and in the current 5-year period, which will be an important prerequisite for reducing inflation, increasing exports of goods and services, and creating new jobs.

The speakers are raising problems of scientific and technical progress.

While giving due credit for the successes of Yugoslav scientists, they note that in general the organization of science in the country and the running of research lag behind society's needs. S. Senicar, general director of the Zlatarna Combine, and other delegates spoke of the national economy's dependence on importing licenses, the insufficient attention to the development of the country's own science, the fragmentation of its institutes and institutions, and the lack of proper coordination of their actions.

The delegates point to the negative phenomena which hamper the fulfillment of the long-term program for economic stabilization. It is a question of the weakening of economic and other ties between republics and provinces and of difficulties which arise in coordinating interests and positions in the process of the adoption of decisions common to the whole SFRY, above all in the sphere of the economy. The congress participants call for the LCY to act more vigorously to promote the integration of the country's economic and also political life.

They dwell on the tasks of the foreign policy activity of the LCY and the SFRY, activity aimed at strengthening peace and international cooperation and at the struggle against the arms race.

The draft changes and amendments to the LCY charter are being discussed at the congress. The League of Communists, as the vanguard of the working class, the delegates point out, should further step up its leading role in society, strengthen ideological unity and unity of action, and improve the work of all party components.

The 13th LCY Congress is a very important political event in the country's life. According to tradition, the forum is receiving reports from party organization and collectives wishing its success and reporting on labor victories.

MARJAI ADDRESSES HUNGARIAN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

LD271023 Moscow TASS in English 1317 GMT 27 Jun 86

[Text] Budapest June 27 TASS -- The National Assembly of the Hungarian People's Republic ended its regular session here. The session was attended by Janos Kadar, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP), and other party officials and statesmen. The session endorsed a draft law on the fulfillment of the state budget of the Hungarian People's Republic for 1985 and discussed the results of implementing the law on the country's defence.

Jozsef Marjai, deputy chairman of the Republic's Council of Ministers, addressing the session, stressed that Hungary's active participation in socialist economic integration had and has a crucial role to play in the successful advancement of the country's national economy. Hungary, he said, is most directly interested in the effective implementation of the strategy mapped by the comprehensive programme of scientific and technological progress of the CEMA member countries for the period ending in 2000.

At one with the fraternal parties and the governments of other socialist countries Hungary strives to expedite socio-economic development through the maximum exploitation of the available opportunities. It is necessary that the socialist countries reach by joint effort the world's vanguard positions in science and technology and achieve on this basis qualitative changes in the drive to upgrade the material and spiritual standards of the peoples of the socialist countries, Marjai emphasized.

MIG-29'S TO ARRIVE IN FINLAND FOR 4-DAY TOUR

LD010717 Helsinki Domestic Service in Finnish 0300 GMT 1 Jul 86

[Text] A detachment [Lentoosasto] of the Soviet Air Force will arrive today on a 4-day visit to Kuopio. The detachment consist of six MiG-29 fighters and an Antonov-12 transport plane. This is the first time that the MiG-29 aircraft will be seen in the West.

ANALYST VIEWS FRG, BRITISH STANDS ON RSA

LD300920 Moscow TASS in English 0725 GMT 30 Jun 86

[Text] Moscow June 30 TASS -- TASS commentator Lev Aksyonov writes:

The Federal Government regards itself, judging by everything, an upholder of the system of apartheid. It is not prepared either for sanctions, or if only for symbolic measures against the Pretoria regime and is torpedoing the international community's efforts aimed at eliminating apartheid in South Africa. This is how Annemarie Borgmann, representative of the Greens Party group in the FRG's Bundestag, has commented on Bonn's stand.

It was to a considerable extent the result of this stand that the recent summit session of the European Council of the Communities in The Hague failed to achieve unity in the question of application of sanctions against the racist-ruled Republic of South Africa.

Bonn's and London's political aid given to the South African racists has been called forth by the broadest economic contacts which these West European countries maintain with the Republic of South Africa.

Thus, the volume of Britain's capital investments in the Repulbic of South Africa amounts to 15,700 million dollars and that of the FRG -- more than 6,000 million marks. But those huge funds are by no means intended to improve the living conditions of the indigenous population of South Africa. The funds return in multi-billion profits to the accounts of banks and companies. The source of the profits is the supercheap labour black workers who are divested of elementary rights by Pretoria.

In this situation, sounding like mockery are the "arguments" by those figures in the FRG who reject the very idea of applying economic sanctions against South Africa. Thus, Helmut Hausmann, general secretary of the ruling FDP [Free Democratic Party] stated on Saturday that such sanctions would ostensibly deal a blow on the socially weak sections in the Republic of South Africa. Such pronouncements fully echo the stand of CSU [Christian Social Union] leader Franz-Josef Strauss who has long assumed the role of an advocate of the racist rulers of South Africa.

CPSU DELEGATION RETURNS FROM ATHENS

LD301732 Moscow TASS in English 1640 GMT 30 Jun 86

[Text] Moscow June 30 TASS -- A delegation of the CPSU headed by member of the CPSU Central Committee, first deputy head of the Department of Party organisational Work of the CPSU Central Committee Yevgeniy Razumov returned here from Athens today. It travelled to Greece at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Greek Communist Party.

EGYPT'S GHALI MAKES STATEMENT BEFORE LEAVING

NC291539 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1415 GMT 29 Jun 86

[Excerpt] Moscow, 29 Jun (MENA) -- Dr Butrus Ghali, minister of state for foreign affairs, said today that nonaligned Egypt under the leadership of President Husni Mubarak could play an important role in consolidating world peace, encouraging detente, and bringing a thaw to the cold war. Dr Ghali stated that the realization of this role requires the continuation of consultations, exchanges of views, and dialogue with all political forces, with which all channels of communication must be kept open.

Prior to leaving Moscow on his way back to Cairo today, Dr Ghali declared that his presence at the second Afro-Soviet conference in Moscow was a good opportunity to talk with the Soviet leaders. He said that an atmosphere of amity had permeated his meetings with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and other senior party, government, and ideological officials. Dr Ghali made much of the depth and strength of the friendship between the Egyptian and Soviet people, and emphasized the two states' political will to bolster political, economic, trade, and cultural cooperation.

Dr Ghali pointed out that during his meetings he explained Egypt's diplomatic efforts to achieve a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East and ensure the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

Dr Ghali is scheduled to arrive in Cairo late tonight.

SHEVARDNADZE RECEIVES YAR ENVOY TO MOSCOW

LD282348 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 28 Jun 86

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Comrade Shevardnadze today received Muhammad 'Abd al-'uthman, ambassador of the Yemen Arab Republic to Moscow, who presented a personal message from President Salih to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. In the course of the conversation, conducted in a friendly atmosphere, questions of bilateral cooperation and the situation in the Middle East were discussed.

LIBYAN OFFICIAL RECEIVES GORSHKOV IN TRIPOLI

LD272028 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1520 GMT 27 Jun 86

[Text] Tripoli, 27 Jun (TASS) -- The Soviet delegation headed by L.A. Gorshkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, which is taking part in the days of Libyan-Soviet friendship taking place here, has been received by Al-Fayturi, secretary of information and culture of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah. Al-Fayturi said during the conversation which took place: We see in the USSR a true friend who is helping us in the struggle against imperialism. We are particularly grateful to the Soviet people for the support and solidarity shown during the U.S. bandit attack on Libya.

Libya warmly approves and supports the USSR's peace initiatives, particularly the proposal for creating zones of peace in the Mediterranean area. The Libyan people are ready to do everything necessary to ensure peace and security both in the region and in the whole world, stressed Al-Fayturi.

OFFICIAL ADDRESSES KUWAITI PRESS CORPS IN MOSCOW

LD301952 Kuwait KUNA in English 1622 GMT 30 Jun 86

[By Khalid al-Tarrah]

[Text] Moscow, June 30 (KUNA) -- The Soviet Union said Monday it is highly concerned with the security and stability of Kuwait and renewed Soviet condemnation of the recent arson fires in some Kuwaiti oil installations.

"We are concerned with Kuwait's stability and security, as obligated by our traditional good ties with this gulf state," said head of the Arabian Gulf department of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, Ivanov Galystan.

Addressing a news conference confined to the Kuwaiti press corps in Moscow, the offiial said the Soviet ambassador in Kuwait, Pogos Akopov, had delivered a note of condemnation to the Kuwaiti foreign ministry over the subversive acts which targetted the oil installations on June 17.

Galystan said Moscow was ready to discuss terrorism with the Arab countries and measures to curb its dangers.

He said the Omani ambassador to Jordan was expected to present within the next few days his credentials as non-resident ambassador to the Soviet Union. Oman and the Soviet Union had agreed last September 26 to establish diplomatic ties at the ambassadorial level.

Galystan renewed his country's desire to reopen diplomatic ties with Saudi Arabia if Riyadh wished so. "We have made our desire be known through a variety of channels but have not sensed, so far, any reciprocal Saudi desire," the official noted.

Of the Six Gulf Cooperation Council states, only Riyadh and Bahrain do not have diplomatic ties with Moscow.

"As is known, the United Nations organisation has declared 1986 a year of peace. The socialist countries took this very seriously.

"In January, we came out with a programme of a stage-by-stage elimination of nuclear arms till the end of the century. In February, at the 27th CPSU Congress, the idea of creating an all-embracing system of international security was announced. This was followed by concrete proposals making it easier to reach agreement on the removal of medium-range missiles from Europe. Neither was the possibility of searching for special agreements on Britain and France, the West European nuclear powers, overlooked. [word indistinct] to eliminate the chemical threat were proposed," he continued.

"In May, the Soviet Union extended for the third time the moratorium on nuclear tests and it spanned thereby a whole year. Lastly, in June our countries suggested a detailed plan of reducing armed forces and conventional armaments throughout the European Continent, the Atlantic to the Urals. [quotation marks as received].

Ample enough, one would think. But alas, the cause of disarmament did not budge by even a single millimetre because of the American administration's open obstruction. Still worse, Washington is destroying the remaining brakes that were still containing the arms race -- the SALT-2 Treaty and other Soviet-American agreements. This stand runs counter to the pressing interests of the world community and is totally out of line with the spirit of the accords that were reached in Geneva last year," he went on.

American officials are not short on eloquent statements about their desire of peace and disarmament, but they are doing the opposite. As to their sabotage of this sacred cause, they try to justify it by references to our mythical violations of various provisions of treaties concluded with the United States. They also insist that supposedly the final word has not yet been said and that a change in their position was possible if the Soviet Union behaved [word indistinct].

One could respond with humour to these claims by the American Administration to play the role of a schoolteacher and give sovereign states marks for their behaviour. But this is no laughing matter. For at stake, no more, no less, is the survival of mankind and we hold that it is the duty of all politicians to treat this problem with utmost seriousness," he emphasised. [KUNA does not complete transmission]

TOLKUNOV SEES OFF LEBANESE PARLIAMENTARY GROUP

LD271217 Moscow TASS in English 1104 GMT 27 Jun 86

[Text] Moscow June 27 TASS -- The delegation of Lebanon's Parliament led by its president Husayn al-Husayni today left Moscow. It was staying in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet on an official visit. At the airport, the delegation was seen off by Lev Tolkunov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and other officials.

ALGERIAN COOPERATION DOCUMENTS SIGNED 25 June

PM261335 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jun 86 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Cooperation Expands"]

[Text] Algiers, 25 Jun -- The latest session of the Soviet-Algerian Intergovernmental Standing Commission on Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation has ended here.

K.F. Katushev, head of the Soviet delegation and chairman of the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, and Algerian Finance Minister Abdelaziz Khellef signed a protocol envisaging the expansion of cooperation between the two countries in various spheres. These include ferrous metallurgy and metalworking, geology, the mining, oil, and gas industry, electircity, water resources, forestry, the training of national cadres, and trade.

The Soviet side is participating in building and modernizing a number of industrial projects, building four dams, raising the qualifications of Algerian specialists by sending them on study attachments to the USSR, and delivering training equipment for vocational and technical centers.

In accordance with the contract concluded during the session, the Soviet Union will carry out work linked with building the first phase of a block of shops producing spares at the largest metallurgical combine in North Africa in El Hadjar. An accord has been reached on questions of cooperation in developing plans for machine and forging and pressing shops, as well as ancillary projects.

A credit agreement was also signed between the USSR Foreign Trade Bank and the Algerian National Bank on the implementation of contracts envisaged under the long-term program of economic, trade, scientific, and technical cooperation between the USSR and Algeria.

Welcoming the results, Algerian Finance Minister A. Khellef stressed their great importance for further developing bilateral mutually advantageous cooperation.

The head of the Soviet delegation noted that the signed documents reflect the friendly nature of the relations linking the two countries' peoples and define concrete steps for implementing the accords reached at the Soviet-Alberian summit in Moscow this past March.

MURPHY REASSERTS PRO-ISRAELI U.S. POLICY

LD291938 MOSCOW TASS in English 1801 GMT 29 Jun 86

[Text] Moscow JUNE 29 TASS - TASS news analyst Grigoriy Vasilyev writes:

There will be no changes in the U.S. Middle Eastern policy which is based on the initiative made by President Reagan in 1982, said an Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, Richard Murphy, in an interview (?in the) Saudi Arabian newspaper "AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT".

In other words, the high ranking representative of the American administration, made clear that the position of the White House will remain, as before, pro-Israeli and stay at variance with the vital interests of Arab nations. As before, Washington will insist on direct negotiations between Arab countries and Israel, while the occupation of Arab lands will continue.

Emphasis will be laid, at the same time, on separatist deals fashioned after the Camp David deal [words indistinct]. The legitimate solution of the Palestinian problem, which lies at the root of the Middle East conflict.

Unqualified support will continue to be extended to Israel which, receiving all-round economic, military and political aid from the United States, will go ahead with its policy of international brigandage and state terrorism against Arab neighbours. Murphy's statement also means that in relations with Arab countries, the USA will continue to adhere to the "everything goes" principle, pursue a policy of intimidations and blackmail and make use of any means, including direct armed interference, as was the case in Lebanon and the Libyan Jamahiriyah.

The United States will most likely continue supporting Israel's upper crust in its policies of unrestrained territorial expansion and annexation of lands belonging to Arabs. Meantime, it is this policy that lies behind sustained tension in the Middle East and blocks all ways towards achieving a just and enduring peace in this explosive region.

Gambling on insane military ventures, the parties to the military political anti-Arab strategic alliance are fully responsible for the dangerous consequences their attempts at imposing an (?imperialist)-zionist diktat on the Arab East may lead to.

CPSU DELEGATION MEETS TUNISIA'S BACCOUCHE 25 JUNE

PM261343 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jun 86 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "CPSU Delegation's Stay]

[Text] Tunisia, 25 Jun -- The CPSU delegation headed by L.N. Spiridonov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy chief editor of PRAVDA, has met here with Hedi Baccouche, director of the Destourian Socialist Party PSD. During a friendly talk questions of the further development of Soviet-Tunisian relations were discussed. The Soviet delegation also met with the leadership of the Tunisia-USSR Friendship Society.

The CPSU delegation has been taking part in the work of the PSD Congress.

CONTRAS PLAN WEAPONS PURCHASES WITH U.S. FUNDS

LD301951 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1445 GMT 30 Jun 86

[From "The World Today" program presented by Vladimir Tsvetov]

[Excerpts] As soon as the leaders of the Nicaraguan Contras heard about the U.S. Congress' decision to approve the Washington administration's $100 million aid package for armed brigandage, the bandits started making plans for putting this military aid into practice. For example, they are envisaging the acquisition of missiles, aircraft, and even of the military transport giant, the C-130. The Contras are talking about new artillery weapons as if they have already been purchased. Meanwhile, it has become known that, together with the legal aid to the Contras, the U.S. CIA is preparing to grant them secret aid in the form of communication system and surveillance, material and technical supplies, and military training. The CIA is acting with far more verve than is Congress. The value of the secret aid is estimated to be $400 million. The CIA is already gathering an additional number of Spanish-speaking agents.

U.S. Secretary of State Shultz said that the money requested from Congress is awarded to train the Contras in the field of human rights.

ORTEGA DENOUNCES U.S. IN TV INTERVIEW

LD271435 Moscow TASS in English 0838 GMT 27 Jun 86

[Text] New York June 27 TASS -- President Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua in an interview to the American ABC television company firmly denounced the Reagan administration's policy of state terrorism against his country.

He touched upon the approval of allocations for military aid to Contras by the House of Representatives and stressed: "What we heard from the House of Representatives is practically a declaration of war on Nicaragua". The United States violates international law standards, it seeks to have a new "Vietnam" in Central America, and conducts the policy of state terrorism in the international scene.

The Nicaraguan people intends to give a firm rebuff to U.S. aggressive actions. The Nicaraguan leader stressed in conclusion: "we would like to have good relations with the United States. But Washington's policy towards Nicaragua is a crime, a crime against peace."

NICARAGUA ASKS SECURITY COUNCIL TO CONVENE

LD272108 Moscow TASS in English 1811 GMT 27 Jun 86

[Text] New York June 27 TASS -- Nora Astorga, Nicaragua's permanent delegate to the United Nations organisation, today called on the president of the Security Council and asked him to urgently convene the council in connection with the rude interference by the United States in her country's internal affairs.

The International Court in The Hague found the United States guilty of violating international law, this expressing itself in the training, arming and financing of the Contras forces conducting an armed struggle against the government of Nicaragua.

The approval by the United States Congress of the allocation of 100 million dollars to the anti-Nicaraguan forces is also evidence of the undeclared war conducted by the United States against Nicaragua. The United Nations Security Council will convene on Monday.

LIGACHEV RECEIVES OUTGOING CUBAN AMBASSADOR

LD261731 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 26 Jun 86

[Text] Comrade Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, today received Lionel Soto, member of the Secretariat of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee and ambassador of the Republic of Cuba to the USSR, in connection with his final departure for home. During the conversation which proceeded in a cordial and comradely atmosphere, mutual satisfaction was expressed with the state of relations between the CPSU and the Cuban Communist Party, which are typified by complete mutual understanding and close interaction in the interests of the cause of peace and socialism. The conviction was stressed that the inviolable Soviet-Cuban friendship and the comprehensive cooperation between the two countries, which are in line with the fundamental interests of the Soviet and Cuban peoples, will continue to strengthen and develop.

DEMICHEV ATTENDS AWARD CEREMONY FOR CUBAN ENVOY

PM271112 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Jun 86 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "High Award"]

[Text] P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidim, presented the Order of the Friendship of the Peoples to Cuban Ambassador to the USSR L. Soto in the Kremlin 23 June.

On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Soviet Government, P.N. Demichev cordially congratulated the ambassador on the lofty decoration, which cites his work to strengtehn friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and Cuba. Soviet-Cuban relations, which are developing fruitfully on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, reliably serve the interests of the two countries' peoples and the cause of peace and socialism, P.N. Demichev said.

L. Soto expressed profound gratitude to the CPSU and the Soviet state for the high assessment of his activity. He stressed that in his future activity he will devote all his his efforts to strengthening Cuban-Soviet friendship and developing cooperation between the two countries in all fields.

T.N. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; V.G. Komplektov, USSR deputy foreign minister; and other officials were present at the presentation of the award.

SHEVARDNADZE RECEIVES BRAZIL'S SARNEY

LD272033 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 27 Jun 86

[Text] Comrade Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the USSR Foreign Minister, today received Sardenberg, the Brazilian ambassador to Moscow, at the latter's request. The ambassador handed over a message from President Sarney of Brazil in reply to a message from Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, dealing with the complete elimination of nuclear weapons on earth, the prevention of an arms race in space, and the establishment of trust in relations between states. During their friendly conversation, they noted the similarity in position of the USSR and Brazil on a number of cardinal problems of world politics, and the readiness of both countries was expressed to expand cooperation with the aim of strengthening the foundations of international peace. During the exchange of opinions on questions of bilateral relations, satisfaction was expressed at their progressive development in various spheres.

ARGENTINE ENVOY MARKS DIPLOMATIC ANNIVERSARY

LD280838 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 27 Jun 86

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] It is 40 years since diplomatic relations were established between the Soviet Union and Argentina. Taking part in our program is Federico Saturnino Bravo, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Argentine Republic to the USSR:

[Begin Bravo recording in Spanish with superimposed Russian translation] Dear viewers, I am grateful for this opportunity to address the Soviet people because the celebration of the 40th anniversary of Argentine-Soviet relations -- a fact that speaks eloquently for itself -- gives me particular satisfaction. It should be noted that neither geographical distance, nor differences in our historical development and socioeconomic systems, have become an obstacle to the strengthening of our bilateral relations which, being based on principles of humanity, are aimed at the achievement of peace and peaceful coexistence between states. The Argentine people have always strived for peace. This same aim is pursued also by the present Argentine Government, which has in the person of President Alfonsin a tireless fighter for world peace, for peaceful ways of solving international conflicts, and for disarmament -- first and foremost nuclear disarmament.

Our country, together with the other members of the Group of Six, signed the Delhi declaration and offered the Soviet Union and the United States the broadest possible cooperation to achieve disarmament. Argentina and the USSR have developed their diplomatic relations on principles of respect for sovereignty and noninterference in internal affairs, and on a mutually advantageous basis. Such an approach has guaranteed, despite our political differences, the peaceful coexistence of our peoples and has ensured a steady expansion of our bilateral links. It should be noted that relations between our countries are developing within the framework of trade and economic agreements, and also agreements on cultural and scientific cooperation. I would also like to recall that Argentina is one of the chief exporters of grain to the USSR.

Marking the 40th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, we have a feeling of joy and optimism when we see our relations growing steadily stronger, and we express the hope that in the future they will become still more fruitful in the interests of our peoples. [End recording]

REPORTAGE ON WRITERS UNION CONGRESS IN MOSCOW

27 June Speeches

PM301418 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jun 86 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Sharing the Concerns of the Modern World. At the 8th USSR Writers Congress"]

[Excerpts] Not cutting themselves off from the anxieties of the modern world and the life of the people -- this is the stance that has been firmly taken by Soviet literary workers. It is being displayed most convincingly at the 8th USSR Writers Congress. Discussion of the most important tasks set for the masters of the written word continued at the Great Kremlin Palace in Moscow 27 June.

Analyzing the literature of the last few years, V. Beekman (Estonia) described many of its defects as a syndrome of social fatigue evident among some writers in the republic. This is a direct or indirect cause of the isolation from life that can be observed at times in some spheres of literature and of authors' departure from acute and socially significant themes and conflicts into the world of intentionally complicated images and allegories of their strange deafness toward the present.

Touching upon the problems of young literary workers' creative growth, R. Rozhdestvenskiy (Moscow) stressed that this category is now taken to include people who are 30, 40, and more years of age. The development of a poet and even a prose writer now takes place much later than in the past. A young poet displays all his best qualities, including his individuality, at the age of 30-40 years. But here is something strange: The age of first love is still the same as ever, people still obtain their personal passport at the age of 16, and they still begin their military service at the age of 18. Only young writers develop late. Could it be that it is not the times but writers' practice that is to blame for this prolonged delay? It is, after all, no secret that the more talented and original a manuscript is, the longer it spends gathering dust in publishers' desks. This is how a young writer "matures" and this is how the "theory of late development" is confirmed.

The session noted the noticeable galvanization of the patriotic subject in Soviet press. Emphasis was placed in this regard on the great importance of addressing historical subjects, which is one of the most important means and methods for inculcating civic awareness, Soviet patriotism, and internationalism.

Many practical proposals were made for improving the leadership of the creative process and publishing work, and the need for the utmost enhancement of exactingness toward the admission of new Writers Union members was noted.

For a long time now, B. Mozhayev (Moscow) said, I have heard it said at our plenums and congresses: Some of our literature is colorless and it is necessary to combat it. This is said mainly by editors of leading literary journals and by Writers Union leaders who are in charge of both journals and publishing houses. I imagine that colorless literature does not appear out of the blue, it is supplied by literary journals and publishing houses. This proves the truth of the proverb: "You reap what you sow."

Ye. Sheveleva (Moscow) described indifference as a fatal shortcoming in literature. A book's fate is at times decided without being carefully read, and a writer's fate without a closer look at his life. This is closely linked with literary organizational work.

Many speakers spoke about the writers active stance in the solution of important national economic problems. B. Rasputin (Irkutsk), in particular, criticized what he considered unjustified plan to divert northern rivers in the country's European part and recalled that many representatives of the public, writers, and scientists have presented sensible arguments against this. He spoke with concern about the fact that hitherto no resolute measures have been taken to protect Lake Baykal, even though there has been much publicity on the subject. There are no plans to do anything about the pulp combines. That poses the greatest threat to the lake and also damage the economy. One's heart aches when thinking of the fate of Lake Sevan and the Aral Sea, the Dnieper and the Volga, and the felling of the Far Eastern and Atlay cedar trees. It is necessary to look into the prevailing situation again and to make radical decisions.

Greetings messages to the congress were delivered by (Dozhoogiyn Tsedev) (Mongolia), (Kim Yen-Von) (DPRK), (Bkhisham Sakhni) (Association of Asian and African Writers), Wojciech Zukrowski (Poland), Frederik Phol (United States), Anna Lilova (Bulgaria), and Max Walter Schultz (GDR).

It was decided to end the debate. Some 200 speakers addressed the congress.

In a resolution adopted by the delegates, the 8th USSR Writers Congress called on every Soviet literary worker to make an active and fitting contribution, using all his talent and civic responsibility, to the implementation of the program tasks set by the 27th CPSU Congress.

The delegates moved on to the election of the USSR Writers Union's leading organs.

Taking part in the work of the congress were Ye. K. Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; A.N. Yakovlev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; and Yu. P. Voronov, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Cultural Section.

The congress continues its work.

Yevtushenko Speaks

PM010859 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Jun 86 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Sharing the Concerns of the Modern World. At the 8th USSR Writers Congress"]

[Excerpts] Sittings of the 8th USSR Writers Congress continue at the Great Kremlin Palace in Moscow. The debate on the USSR Writers Union Board report and the Central Auditing Commission report continued 26 June.

The human factor principle means not only a humane attitude toward the living but also an attitude toward the dead. Voicing this idea, Ye. Yevtushenko (Moscow) named many of the fatherland's literary workers whose talents deserve proper recognition by posterity. The historic tasks being set for us today by the people and the party cannot be carried out emotionlessly [s pustoserdechiye].

The present time of change is a time of hope and restoration of justice. The hopes whose air we are now all breathing will not be made to come true on our behalf by somebody else, because we ourselves are the totality of these hopes. No one will present us with socialist democrary ready-made on a platter, because we ourselves must bring this democracy to life. Each day of our lives and every one of our acts must be a lesson of such democracy in action. Some people tried to frighten us by saying that democracy apparently inevitably leads to anarchy, to rocking the ship of state. Everything depends on who is steering this ship. Its helm is now in reliable hands. And we writers must also put our hands on the helm. The captain's role in a socialist democracy is a matter for the whole people. Socialist democracy means not disorder but the supreme ideal of moral self-discipline and discipline. Ours is a time of change because it is fittingly demolishing ineffectual spinelessness. We writers in a socialist country fully support this Leninist turnabout.

Discussion of the most important tasks set by the times for the masters of the written word continued at the congress 27 June.

No one else will eliminate the shortcomings in our life and in creative affairs which have been spoken of here -- we ourselves will have to do this, V. Karpov (Moscow) emphasized. Recalling the traditions of the journal NOVYY MIR which was led by K. Simonov, A. Tvardovskiy, and S. Narovchatov, the speaker noted that its present employees, fostered by their brilliant predecessors, sacredly preserve these traditions and persistently struggle for the life of every manuscript. The journal has been correctly criticized here, the speaker said, but it must always be borne in mind that we all share the same ideas and together must find the correct ways to implement the inspiring tasks set for us by life, correct ways to implement the inspiring tasks for us by life, the party, and the fate of the people.

30 June Press Conference

LD301625 Moscow TASS in English 1538 GMT 30 Jun 86

[Text] Moscow June 30 TASS -- The 8th Congress of Soviet writers became a major event in the cultural life of the Soviet Union, well known Soviet prose writer Chingiz Aytmatov said here today at a press conference on the results of the congress. It was attended by about 600 writers who represented Soviet multinational literature, published in 78 languages.

The congress, Aytmatov continued, was characterized by lively debates, keen formulation of artistic problems and utmost frankness. The writers reaffirmed their commitment to the method of socialist realism, which offers boundless opportunities for an indepth anlaysis of the life of society.

The delegates to the congress stressed that Soviet literature should keep pace with major events taking place in the country. Moscow playwright Mikhail Shatrov said. The most important thing for writers today is to create innovative works which would analyze reality in depth, raise serious social problems and portray our contemporary [sentence as received].

Speakers at the congress levelled strong criticism at the Board of the Union of Writers, which did little to promote creativity, Moscow writer Sergey Mikhailkov said.

It was announced at the press conference that the congress of Soviet writers had launched the initiative to establish a museum of Soviet poet Boris Pasternak (1890-1960).

Writers Genrikh Borovik and Yevgeniy Yevtushenko, answering questions from American journalists, called for broader cultural exchanges between the USSR and the USA. They noted that the American side was holding back cultural exchanges and did not respond to proposals from Soviet men of letters on cooperation with American colleagues.

RSFSR SUPREME SOVIET PRESIDIUM MEETS IN MOSCOW

LD301533 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 30 Jun 86

[Text] A routine meeting of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium was held today. Issues related to the 3d session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation were considered. Proposals on the agenda and the order of work of the meeting of the highest organ of state power of the Russian Federation were discussed and approved. The issue on the conclusion of the work of the plan, budget, and other standing commissions of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on the preliminary review of the state plan of economic and social development of the RSFSR for 1986-90 was considered.

On the recommendation of the standing commissions, the report was delivered by Comrade Cherepanov, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Planning and Budget Commission.

The meeting discussed the question of putting forward for approval by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet the decisions of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium that were adopted in the period between the second and third sessions of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. The Presidium also discussed the question of work of the Soviets of people's delegate from Orel oblast in the legal and moral education of young people.

Several other issues of the state life of the republic were considered.

RSFSR SUPREME SOVIET MEETS 1 JULY

LD010820 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0740 GMT 1 Jul 86

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] As the Grand Kremlin palace today the 3d session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation started work.

Deputies and guests greeted with applause Comrades Aliyev, Vorotnikov, Gromyko, Zaykov, Ligachev, Ryzhkov, Solomentsev, Demichev, Dolgikh, Yeltsin, Sokolov, Biryukova, Dobrynin, Nikonov and Kapitonov.

The session was opened by Deputy Gribachev, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet. The session's agenda and the order of business are being confirmed. The following questions are put forward for discussion:

Changes in the composition of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; the Russian state socioeconomic development plan for 1986-90, and confirmation of the decrees of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

A report on the republic's state socioeconomic development plan during the 12th 5-Year Plan is being delivered by Deputy Vorotnikov, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

The session is continuing its work.

ZIMYANIN ADDRESSES CENTRAL COMMITTEE CONFERENCE

LD302158 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 30 Jun 86

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] There was a conference today at the CPSU Central Committee for secretaries of the central committees of Communist Parties of union republics, party kraykoms and obkoms, deputy chairmen of Councils of Ministers of Union Republics, leaders of organs of education and professional and technical education, as well as of several ministries and departments, the AUCCTU, the Central Committee of the VLKSM, and scientists. The conference discussed questions concerning the progress of implementation of the general education and vocational school reform and the fulfillment of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress in the area of national education.

Taking part in the work of the conference were Comrades Aliyev, Ligachev, Demichev, Zimyanin, and Razumovskiy, as well as senior workers from the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers. The opening address at the conference was delivered by Comrade Ligachev.

Reports were delivered by Comrade Shcherbakov, USSR minister of education and Comrade Dumachev, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education. Taking part in the discussion were Comrade Vayno, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia; Comrade Ivashko, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine; Comrade (?Arshlutova), people's teacher of the USSR and a teacher at School No 25 in the town of Kuybyshev; Comrade (?Belikov), mastern of production study at professional and technical institution No 102 in the town of Donetsk and a Hero of Socialist Labor; Comrade (?Loshchenko), general director of Chelyabinsk Tractor Works Production Association; Comrade (?Salayev), first secretary of Leningrad VLKSM Obkom, and others.

The reports and addresses analyzed concrete experience in implementing the school reform accumulated in various parts of the country and noted shortcomings in the organization of this matter. They also examined practical ways and measures for the further restructuring of national education in the light of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress.

Comrade Zimyanin spoke at the end of the conference.

SOKOLOV RECEIVES ORDER OF LENIN AWARD

LD302256 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 30 Jun 86

[Text] By decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Leonidovich Sokolov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of defense, has been awarded the Order of Lenin in recognition of his services to the Communist Party and the Soviet state and to mark his 75th birthday.

CPSU SECTION CHIEF STASHENKOV ATTENDS CONFERENCE

PM261001 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Jun 86 First Edition p 2

[Tass report: "On the basis of Technical Progress"]

[Text] Sverdlovsk, 24 Jun -- Ways of rapidly introducing mechanization and automation facilities at trade and public catering enterprises have been discussed at an all-union conference held in Sverdlovsk. It completed its work today. Its participants exchanged experience and visited enterprises in the city, as well as an exhibition of trade equipment manufactured in the mid-Urals.

N.A. Stashenkov, chief of a CPSU Central Committee section, participated in the conference work.

ZAYKOV CONCLUDES TOUR OF IRKUTSK OBLAST

LD302212 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 30 Jun 86

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Comrade Zaykov's stay in Irkutsk Oblast has come to an end. He visited Bratsk today before leaving for Moscow.

Bratsk is traditionally considered to be a town for young people. For several decades the average age of its citizens has been 28. And the industry that they have created in this area is the pride of the entire country. There is a mighty GES, a timber industry complex, and an aluminum works.

Lev Nikolayevich Zaykov today visited the Bratsk heating equipment works, one of the country's largest construction industry enterprises. There are radiators from there in every flat, and so their quality and appearance are no small matter in our daily lives. Comrade Zaykov showed an interest in his conversations with workers and specialists at the works in the introduction of progressive technology and the mechanization and automation of production processes. He paid special attention to labor and everyday conditions for the workers.

Lev Nikolayevich Zaykov then acquainted himself with the work of the collective at Bratsk hydroelectric power station. The amount of electric power generated by this one station is unequalled by any hydro-engineering installation in the world.

Comrade Zaykov also met the managers of Bratsk timber industry complex and Bratsk aluminum works.

KRAVTSOV EXPLAINS DECREE ON UNEARNED INCOME

LD010708 Moscow TASS in English 0652 GMT 1 Jul 86

[Text] Moscow July 1 TASS -- In the USSR the work for the benefit of the society is the main source of the might of our motherland, of the well-being of every Soviet citizen. This has been stated by Boris Kravtsov, USSR minister of justice, who commented at the request of TASS on the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet "On Stepping up the Struggle Against Unearned Income" which comes into force starting from July 1.

B. Kravtsov explained that a package of economic, organizational, legal and educational measures had been mapped out with a view to stepping up the struggle against crimes and other offenses. Their purpose is to ensure the unswerving putting into life of the principle of social justice.

He pointed out that the responsibility of the managing staff for consolidating order and raising the level of organization and discipline would be increased, the struggle against wastefulness and losses would be intensified and strict economy in the use of material and other resources would be ensured.

The Soviet minister of justice emphasized that the accelerated development of the production of consumer goods and the service sector would promote the success of the struggle against the people living off unearned incomes.

B. Kravtsov said that in accordance with the outlined measures all those who let flats and country houses would be registered and their compliance with the legislation regulating this type of legal relations would be ensured. He explained that this was brought about by the fact that some people were using for selfish purposes the existing difficulties with housing and the shortage of places in sanatoria and holiday homes. Measures are being outlined for the improvement of the functioning of markets, the toughening of control over the observance of the marketing regulations and over the activities of seasonal construction workers.

Up till recently the law enforcement measures did not cover some actions which permitted dishonest people to enrich themselves at the expense of the society and the state. From now on the people who avoid the presentation of a declaration on their incomes, as well as those who use for selfish purposes transport facilities, machines and mechanisms belonging to state enterprises will be held accountable along the administrative lines and in case of a repeated offense criminal proceedings will be instituted against them.

These are not all the measures for eradicating unearned incomes, the minister emphasized. The legislation will be further improved with a view to putting up obstacles on the way to those who seek to parasitize on the society.

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON SPEECHES AT SUPREME SOVIET

Kotelnikov Speaks

PM251850 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jun 86 Morning Edition p 2

[Abbreviated report on the speech by Deputy V.A. Kotelnikov of Tallinn Central Electoral Okrug, Estonian SSR. (Vice President of the USSR Academy of Sciences). Delivered at the 19 June sitting of USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities]

[Excerpt] Measures were taken in the 11th 5-Year Plan to expand work in the Academy of Sciences in avenues of decisive importance for the country. Now we have great work to do in providing premises and equipment for the newly created subunits and creating efficient collectives.

Instrument making is of decisive importance for the development of scientific research. The purchase of scientific instruments abroad is difficult because of the expense and because there is an embargo on sales to us of the most important instruments. We expect great assistance from many ministries, first and foremost the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems and the Ministry of the Communications Equipment Industry. These ministries are doing a great deal for the needs of science but our requirements are by no means being satisfied as yet.

Belorussian Premier Speaks

PM301555 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Jun 86 Morning Edition pp 5, 6

[Abbreviated Report on the speech by Deputy M.V. Kovalev of Bobruyskiy Electoral Okrug, Belorussian SSR, (chairman of Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers), delivered at the 18 June afternoon meeting of USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Nationalities]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Deputies! I can state with the utmost conviction that the deputies of the Belorussian SSR, on whose behalf I am speaking here, wholeheartedly approve the measures that are being consistently and firmly implemented by the CPSU Central Committee and its Politburo in accelerating the country's socioeconomic development.

A 22-25 percent increase in industrial production has been set down for the Belorussian SSR in the current 5-year plan. However, guided by the congress' demands, we made a thorough analysis of our reserves and as a result found the potential to achieve a 26-percent growth in industrial production in the 5-year plan. National income will also increase by that amount.

Similar intensive factors are also contained in the plans for the development of the agrarian sector of the economy. In 5 years the production volumes here will increase by over 13 percent, which is in line with Food Program targets. Achieving the new targets will enable the republic not only to fully satisfy its own needs for the basic agricultural products but also to increase its deliveries of meat and milk to the union stock by 21 percent and 17 percent respectively.

The recent party Central Committee plenum convincingly showed once again that questions of social policy and concern for man are at the center of our attention.

That is also demonstrated by the draft that we are examining. In particular, real per capita incomes are to increase by 14.5 percent in our republic in the 5-year plan. A considerable increase in the growth rate of consumer goods production must be achieved, and the volume of paid services will rise by 50 percent.

In the light of the party Central Committee's demands to accelerate the solution of the housing problem we are formulating a special program which envisages accelerating the pace of housing construction, particularly in the countryside, where we intend to double the figure in the 12th 5-Year Plan. There will be a considerable increase in the construction of apartment blocks using housing construction cooperatives' resources and a 50-percent increase in individual construction. More than 4.5 million square meters of the total housing constructed by direct labor will be constructed by enterprises, organizations, and kolkhozes.

The Leningrad initiative, which was approved by the CPSU Central Committee, could be a significant way of solving the housing problem. Leningraders decided to ensure a high modern standard in industry mainly by retooling enterprises in existing production premises and thereby to release a certain proportion of the capital investments, which could be directed into housing construction.

But in our view the main way to increase housing construction in the 12th 5-Year Plan is to use enterprises' social development funds, which are based on the end results of their economic activity. The USSR Gosplan and the USSR Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry, in conjunction with the corresponding local organs, must find additional potential for considerably increasing production of the main construction materials.

The republic has overfulfilled the target for industrial output sales and labor productivity growth in the first 5 months of this year. Livestock and poultry purchases have increased by 9 percent and milk purchases by 10 percent. Other sectors of the national economy have also fulfilled the plans. We are well aware that the main return at present is derived from work aimed at establishing order and strengthening discipline. In-depth processes of intensification have still not take proper shape. Nevertheless, there is no sector of the national economy where we have not experienced beneficial changes from the restructuring that is underway.

Comrade Deputies! The events at Chernobyl showed the whole world the Soviet people's unity, the strength of their friendship, and the moral beauty of Soviet man's soul. It is common knowledge that the disaster also affected a number of regions in our republic. It should be noted, too, that people here showed a high level of consciousness and organization. A package of measures was implemented with the aim of eliminating the after-effects of the accident. As a result we resolved the main task: We safeguarded people's health. We are profoundly grateful to specialists from Moscow, Leningrad, and other cities in our country for the ehlp they gave. We give heartfelt thanks to our brothers from the RSFSR as well as the Latvian, Lithuanian, and Estonian republics who have considerately and warmly received more than 70,000 Belorussian children for a summer vacation.

Comrades! The draft 5-year plan is a major step toward the implementation of our party's economic and social policy and a militant program of activity for the entire national economic complex and of each republic and society as a whole. I propose the ratification of the 5-year plan for the economic and social development of the USSR for 1986-1990 incorporating the conclusions of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers' commissions. (Applause)

Coal Industry Minister Speaks

PM301411 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Jun 86 Morning Edition p 5

[Abbreviated report on the speech by Deputy M.I. Shchadov of Leniniskiy Electoral Okrug, Voroshilovgrad Oblast (USSR Minister of the Coal Industry), delivered at the 18 June afternoon sitting of USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades! The Soviet people's selfless labor has created a mighty and highly efficient fuel and energy complex in the country, based on cur own energy resources. The coal industry -- one of the leading industries in terms of its significance and scale of production -- is a most important part of that complex.

The concentration in a single sector of large coal-and shale-extracting and processing associations, mine construction organizations, machine building plants, and scientific research and planning and design institutes provides an opportunity to resolve comprehensively the tasks of developing the coal industry.

The plan for the coal industry's development in the 12th 5-Year Plan corresponds to the guidelines of our party's 27th congress. It is planned to extract 785 million metric tons of coal in 1990, or 59 million tons more than the 1985 level. For comparison's sake I would point out that we achieved an increase of 23 million tons in the 10th and 11th 5-Year Plans put together. And the particularly important point is that we must secure the entire increase in coal production by increasing labor productivity and at the same time reduce manpower in the mines and open-cast puts by 22,000.

The new 5-year plan sets us complex, large-scale tasks, and we envisage resolving them by carrying out the maximum retooling of underground and open-cast operations and the fundamental restructuring of capital construction and structural and investment policy. A considerable effect is to be achieved by increasing the influence of economic levers and incentives and using new methods of administration and management.

In the 12th 5-Year Plan particular attention is to be paid to the further development of coal extraction by progressive, open-cast methods, which will account for 47 percent of total extraction. We will be considerably increasing open-cast coal mining in the Kuzbass, East Siberia, Karaganda, Ekibastuz, South Yakutia, and Kansk-achinsk coalfields.

We must increase the amount of stripping work at open-cast mines in the 12th 5-Year Plan and aim to reach around 1.6 billion cubic meters in 1990. When we resolve that problem we will have resolved all questions connected with coal extraction in the 12th 5-Year Plan.

The deputy went on to dwell on questions of providing the sector with new equipment.

In 1990 our machine-building plants will produce output worth more than R2.2 billion. Nevertheless, we have a whole range of unresolved questions connected with the development of mining machine building. It may now be said quite bluntly that the USSR Gosplan and USSR Gossnab treat our machine building with contempt. The resources allocated for its development are inadequate and the plants' provision with modern machine tools and progressive construction materials and components is poor. Furthermore, the lack of machine-building capacities has meant that many types of progressive equipment do not go into production for a long time or are produced in very small quantities.

Increased coal extraction and an improved technical level of mines and open pits cannot be achieved without a fundamental improvement of capital construction. If we analyze the situation in mining construction self-critically, it must be said there is a great deal of unfinished work here. We are not making full use of the capital investments allocated and are taking too long on the construction of many facilities. In the ministry as a whole 45 percent of construction organizations regularly fail to fulfill the state plan. Only 1 of the 13 trusts in the Kuzbass fulfilled the plan in the first 5 months of this year.

A program has been outlined for developing the construction industry base and increasing construction organizations' capacities in Karaganda, Ekibastuz, the Komi ASSR, South Yakutia, and the Ukraine. We shall reinforce construction organizations with new cadres and provide them with the necessary equipment.

Over 52 percent of capital investments have been channeled into the retooling and modernization of existing enterprises. By the end of the 5-year plan we will have reduced the number of simultaneous construction projects to one-third, and the construction of facilities is to be kept within the normative schedules.

In the current 5-year plan the ministry plans to commission coal extraction capacities equivalent to 145 million metric tons, or 140 percent more than was commissioned in the 11th 5-Year Plan. It is also planned to assimilate capital investments worth R25.4 billion within the 5 years and carry out construction and assembly work worth R13 billion.

We have formulated specific measures that we are beginning to carry out. But we would ask the directive organs to examine the question of releasing mining construction workers from building for other ministries and departments.

Social problems remain very acute. We have much dilapidated housing. There are 260,000 families today who need improved housing or who do not have apartments at all. The water situation is difficult in the Kuzbass and Donetsk coalfields. For that reason we have now looked into nonproduction construction and intend to allocate around R4 billion to it in the 5-year plan and to construct over 12 million square meters of housing in the 12th 5-Year Plan. The problem is complex, but we shall solve it.

Comrade Deputies! In 6 months we shall have extracted 11 million metric tons of coal above the plan, which will enable us to improve the supply to the national economy and prepare as fully as possible for winter working.

I support the proposal submitted by deputies to ratify the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990. (Applause).

IMMEDIATE, LONGER-TERM TASKS VIEWED

PM251449 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jun 86 Morning Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Much Work Lies Ahead"]

[Text] The newspapers have published the CPSU Central Committee Appeal to Soviet Working People. "Our country," the appeal says, "is at an abrupt turning point. The 27th CPSU Congress set the Soviet people great and complex tasks. It is necessary to move forward more rapidly in all spheres of society's life, hit new marks, and scale new heights.

"The 12th 5-Year Plan is the decisive stage in the implementation of the party's strategic directives."

The latest CPSU Central Committee Plenum, held 16 June, focused on how the general line defined by the congress is being implemented, summed up the preliminary results, draw lessons from the postcongress work, and defined the party's next tasks.

"Since the 27th CPSU Congress, Soviet society has started moving in all spheres -- political, economic, and spiritual," M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said in his report at the plenum. He stressed that social development has received a powerful dynamic charge which has led to a surge in the masses' political self-awareness. The atmosphere of demandingness, exactingness, and rectitude that reigned at the congress is having a mobilizing impact on all practical matters.

Soviet people, ardently responding to the innovative initiatives, are supporting them and resolutely advocating that restructuring be universal and businesslike. All this shows that the congress ideas have taken firm root in public consciousness and objectively predetermine the irreversibility of the processes that are taking place.

The CPSU approaches the assessment of the activity of all party committees, soviet and economic organs, public organizations, and labor collectives from the viewpoint of practical deeds and results.

It is this approach that makes it possible to accurately gain one's bearings not only in terms of what is taking place but in terms of how to further organize practical work. This is also necessary because not only positive trends are developing in real life -- although they do, of course dominate society: The restructuring process is also encountering restraining factors. Sometimes they are of an objective nature, but more often than not they emanate from inertia, ingrained habits, and ossified thinking and behavior.

The plenum participants were unanimous in the opinion that those people who have firmly adopted the positions of the 27th congress, thrown themselves energetically into their work, stint neither time nor effort, and seek out and find their own place in the restructuring process are actively revealing themselves today. There are also many people who have a political grasp of the need to work in the new way but simply do not know how to do it in practice. These people have to be helped in every way. Nor can the party fail to note those who have still not grasped the essence of the changes that are under way, who sit on the fence, or who do not believe in the success of an economic and political turnaround.

The congress directive, that developing the creativity of the masses is the basis of acceleration, is having a profound impact on society. It is linked in the closest possible way with the struggle for social justice, the development of democracy, complete openness, and the purging of life of all manifestations of petit bourgeois mentality.

Needless to say, it would be naive to expect that the laggardness and shortcomings that have accumulated over the years will be overcome in just a few months. But a trend toward increased national economic development rates has taken shape. This is linked first and foremost with the people's active labor and the positive processes under way in society.

There have been changes in sectors that have been lagging behind for many years -- the coal industry, ferrous metallurgy, and railroad transport. Enterprises in the timber, wood-processing, and pulp and paper industry have started working better. As yet, oil workers are not coping with their difficulties. But even here reassuring trends have appeared. A number of sectors of the machine-building complex are developing dynamically. Intensive work is under way in the agrarian sector.

The CPSU Central Committee Plenum stressed that the most essential thing now is to consolidate the growth rates that have been achieved and boost them further. This is a realistic task, but it will require greater effort, particularly if one considers the fact that we are at the very start of the restructuring process, not everything has yet been done in terms of organization, and the economic levers and incentives which are to exert a decisive influence on the course of further changes for the better in the national economy are not yet working at full capacity.

In order to provide a fully objective and accurate analysis, the Central Committee Plenum noted, it is necessary to point out the weaknesses and the factors that hinder us. The fact is that the restructuring itself is so far proceeding only slowly. Rush work continues to flourish at many enterprises and the old slogan "The plan at all costs" is still current.

The switch to quality, efficiency, and new leadership methods is proving difficult and painful. The plenum expressed its will extremely clearly: The Central Committee will firmly follow the line of supporting everything that is healthy, everything that accords with the congress decisions, and everything that actually means restructuring and progress. The party will be equally firm in its struggle against everything that hampers this process.

The main thing, the plenum pointed out, is that the party and people support the congress' political line. In organizing and rallying the working people the party is restructuring itself too. The past few months have confirmed that restructuring concerns everyone. It can only be seen through to completion by becoming a nationwide matter. And everything hindering that must be resolutely eradicated.

One more important conclusion. The creativity of the masses must be be replaced by directives, even the most well-meaning. Restructuring presupposes the development in every way possible of the initiative and autonomy [samostoyatelnost] of labor collectives and all cadres. Under present-day conditions it is impermissible, and, moreover, practically impossible, to resolve all questions from the center. Everyone must grasp the truth.

And, finally, the period since the congress reaffirms with utter congency the fundamental importance of the lesson of truth that was mentioned at the congress. The party and people need the whole truth -- in matters great or small. It alone cultivates people with a developed sense of civic duty, while half-truths or lies pervert the consciousness, distort the personality, and prevent the elaboration of realistic conclusions or assessments, without which there can be no active party policy.

Taking the tasks posed and the external conditions into account, the participants in the CPSU Central Committee Plenum examined the key questions of the 5-year plan, which comprises the main framework of our work in the immediate and longer-term future.

We must break with unfavorable trends in economic development, make the economy more dynamic, boost production rates, and obtain higher end results on the basis of accelerating scientific and technical progress, retooling and modernizing the national economy, and utilizing intensively the potential that has been created.

We must fundamentally restructure the economic mechanism, create a flexible and efficient management system that will make it possible to provide for precise organization of the labor process everywhere, and make fuller use of the reserves and potential of socialism.

We must implement urgent social programs, accelerate the development of the sociocultural sphere, considerably improve Soviet people's working and living conditions, and strive to further boost the people's prosperity.

The CPSU Central Committee Plenum approved the draft 12th 5-Year Plan. The 5th Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation, having listened to and discussed the report by N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, unanimously adopted the USSR law "On the State Plan for the USSR's Economic and Social Development in 1986-1990."

The 5-year plan as a whole is in line with the 27th CPSU Congress directives. It envisages focusing efforts and resources on the key elements of economic development and changing structural and investment policy in the interests of intensifying social production. The plan is geared to boosting national economic efficiency, ensuring active resource saving, stepping up the influence of economic levers and incentives, applying long-term normatives, and utilizing new administrative and management methods.

The most complete picture of the changes in the economy is provided by the absolute growth rates included in the plan. The most important of them are 1.5 times higher than in the last 5-year plan. And it is important to stress that it is intended to boost rates from the very first years of the 5-year plan.

The high targets set in the plan require that the definition of the sources of economic growth be approached in a new way. The radical improvement in production efficiency indicators on the basis of the acceleration of scientific and technical progress is of determining importance here.

The new 5-year plan envisages an increased role for the accumulation fund in the national income. This will create real conditions for improving the absolute size of capital investment growth. The plan outlines a wide-ranging program for retooling and modernizing existing enterprises.

The mechanization and automation of production and the introduction of new techniques are under way on a large scale. All this will create the prerequisites for improving working conditions and releasing over 5 million people from manual labor by 1990, which is more than double the number released in the last 5-year period. Major measures have been taken to save energy and material resources.

The range of measures envisaged by the plan for introducing the achievements of science and technology and improving administrative and management methods will make it possible to boost average annual national income growth rates to 4.1 percent, or by almost one-third in comparison with the previous 5-year plan.

It is planned to implement a major social program on the basis of the economy's accelerated development. The population's real income will grow, supplies of foodstuffs and consumer goods will improve, the services sphere will expand, and the work to improve health care and education will continue.

Particular attention is being devoted to solving the housing problem. It is planned to build 595 million square meters of housing while simultaneously improving housing quality and the degree of comfort it affords. Housing construction in the countryside will be developed at preferential rates.

It is planned to channel approximately four-fifths of national income into improving the people's prosperity. The country's defensive might will also be maintained at the necessary level.

The course of accelerating socioeconomic development taken by our party and other fraternal parties in the socialist countries has generated a widespread international response and in the course of its implementation will exert growing influence on the entire course of world social development. It is this that generates the greatest concern with our class enemy.

After examining the results of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee conference the CPSU Central Committee Plenum fully approved the activity of the Soviet delegation headed by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and the documents adopted by the conference.

The CPSU Central Committee Plenum stressed the great importance of the collective analysis of the prevailing international situation and the main causes of tension, the basis of which is the dangerous political course and imperial ambitions of the U.S. Administration, which does not want to come to terms with the peoples' will or act in the spirit of the Geneva accords.

Under these complex conditions the fraternal countries will not allow themselves to be drawn onto the path of deepening confrontation, and they consider it their duty to persistently continue the search for opportunities for reducing arms, improving the international situation, and ensuring constructive cooperation among states. This principled line was defined by the decisions of the 27th CPUS Congress and the congresses of the ruling parties of the other socialist countries, which showed the ways and real means of building a secure world.

In its Appeal to Soviet Working People, the CPSU Central Committee called on Communists, Komsomol members, workers, kolhoz members, scientists, specialists, cultural and artistic figures, and all working people to extensively launch nationwide socialist competition to successfully fulfill the targets of the 12th 5-Year Plan and to turn bold plans and projects into the vigor of practical actions.

The main aims of competition today are to raise labor productivity, improve output quality, and save resources. As Lenin put it, it is necessary to produce "better than before, cheaper than before, and more than before."

Improving labor productivity is the main question. The main way of solving this task is to accelerate scientific and technical progress. A long-term action program has been drawn up in this decisive avenue. Its implementation will make possible the technical modernization of the national economy. But we are not entitled to wait. It is important to considerably improve working standards at each enterprise and workplace right now. There are considerable reserves literally at hand.

Competition is a powerful lever for improving output quality. May the joint efforts of workers, kolkhoz members, engineers, specialists, and workers in all components of management ensure high output quality and block any forms of mass-produced technical backwardness [tirazhirovaniye tekhnicheskoy ostalosti], ignorance, bad taste, and shoddy workmanship. The name of a plant brand or any creation of workers' hands and the production of reliable, economical, and necessary articles are a matter of honor and conscience for each person and a subject of professional and patriotic pride for Soviet people.

Victory in competition will go to those who save metal, fuel, timber, and electricity better than others, those who safeguard the people's property. Although our country is rich in fuel, energy, mineral, and raw material resources, they are not infinite and are becoming increasingly costly. The 5-year plan contains a fundamentally new approach to meeting the economy's need for material resources. Whereas previously their growth was ensured by increasing extraction and production, nowadays a considerable amount of the growth is to be ensured through savings.

In launching socialist competition it is necessary to ensure absolute observance of its prime precept: Worktime means work. Effective savings are inconceivable without firm plan and labor discipline.

The restructuring of competition has started. However, these are only the first steps. Not everything in the competition mechanism is functioning. Purgin competition of the canker of formalism means returning to the inspiration, genuine competition, and combativness without which people cannot fully reveal their skills and expertise.

The 12th 5-Year Plan is gathering pace and broadening its scope. Much work lies ahead -- wide-ranging, interesting, and responsible work. The main thing today is not to waste time. The first year of the 5-year plan is a practical test for all labor collectives and a check on how restructuring is proceeding in practice and how profoundly its ideas have been perceived and implemented. Passing this examination means laying the foundations for sucess in the entire 5-year plan.

The 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution will be an important landmark in our country's progress along the path of economic and social progress. Our sacred patriotic duty is to greet this glorious date with new successes in labor and in improving all aspects of our socialist society's life.

EDITORIAL HAILS PLENUM, SUPREME SOVIET MATERIALS

PM250837 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 21 Jun 86 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial : "Accelerated March" -- capitalized passages are printed in boldface]

[Text] Every one of us Soviet people will be turning repeatedly to the materials of the recent CPSU Central Committee Plenum and USSR Supreme Soviet session. After all, the party and state decision that were adopted and the Central Committee Appeal to the Working People define not only impressive prospects for the country's accelerated march, but also the life of every one of us, its content and quality at an exceptionally significant period in the country's history. And today it is particularly important for every Soviet person to have a clear understanding of precisely WHAT he should be striving for and WHERE AND HOW to apply his efforts, knowledge, and creative energy. There is a need for clarity of aspiration and the ability searchingly to analyze one's own specific steps along the path of the implementation of the 27th CPSU Congress plans, plans which are innovative and revolutionary in their essence.

During these days we have all seen for ourselves: the party Central Committee and the Soviet Government have a keen sense of the ardent pulse of our time, are conscious of their very great responsibility to the people, and firmly and consistently pursue the congress line. The Central Committee plenum and the session of the highest organ of state power were in themselves graphic examples of the ability to conduct a restructuring and make practical use of the new levers for acceleration.

The new approaches were manifested even during the preparation of the plan for the 12th 5-Year Plan period. In the plan it has been possible in the majority of quantitative and -- most important -- qualitative indicators to reach to top level of the targets of the Basic Guidelines for Economic and Social Development. This was not easy. It was necessary to renounce once and for all the old methods of economic management and the habit of planning using existing achievements as the "baseline," methods which have sometimes led the economy into an impasse. The successful overcoming of inertia at this crucial stage is indicative of much. Above all, of the IRRVERSIBILITY of the positive processes that are taking place and of the bolshevik DETERMINIATION to take to its conclusion the restructuring that has begun. The targets set by the 5-year plan give rise to a feeling of pride. National income in the 12th 5-Year Plan will increase by R124 billion, as against 79 billion in the 11th 5-Year Plan. The growth in industrial output will total R200 billion, instead of 133 billion, and the average gross output of agriculture will be R29 billion as against 10 billion.

Soviet people will receive 595 million square meters of good quality housing. And if you take into account that the quest for new opportunities for improving housing conditions will continue, we can count on an even larger quantity of apartments with modern standards of comfort than the plan provides for. Major changes in the social sphere will take place on the basis of accelerated economic development.

It is noteworthy that there was a very restrained party assessment of the marked increase in the pace of industrial and agricultural production which characterized the first 5 months of this year. It was possible to improve the results of work on the basis of reserves which were on the surface, on hand, so to speak, but long-term success requires far more radical measures.

Many examples were cited at the plenum and the session of HOW IT IS NECESSARY to apply in practice the new levers for development, WHAT should be taken as a model and WHERE. There is no need to enumerate them all here, but we would like to single out one example in particular. This is the Mosoblselstroy No. 18 Trust, which recently went over to the principles of financial autonomy and self-management. In only a year the trust increased the production of commodity output by 50 percent and labor productivity by 25 percent, while prime cost fell by 12 percent. And that is in a very difficult sector, which is what capital construction has been for many a year!

And what a vast potential for acceleration is available to enterprises and organizations in our industry and agro-industrial complex, which are better equipped technically and have more manpower! Particularly now that practically every sector has its own innovators, enthusaists for restructuring, and active champions of technical progress! Take their experience and go further, strive for more!

The first letters to the editorial office in response to the Central Committee plenum decisions draw particular attention to the flexible, well considered nature of party policy. Our readers respond with a sense of satisfaction to the in-depth elaboration of the proposed measures for the radical transformation of the national economy. It is stressed that while calling for an increase in the output of essential goods, machines, and instruments, the party warns against superficiality, unnecessary fuss, and haste where what is needed is circumspection and accurately checked calculations. As is known, the selective evaluation of plans for the modernization of enterprises under a number of industrial ministries showed very clearly the oversimplified way in which the leaders of certain design institutes and economic organs view the tasks of the period that has not begun.

Convincing confirmation of this is the plan for the modernization of the Moscow cotton print factory, where it is proposed to install equipment which has been produced without modernization for more than 15 years. And is this the only such example? The party requirement for the strictest expertise to be applied in modernization and retooling plans due for implementation in the 12th 5-Year Plan is relevant to headquarters workers in virtually all sectors of industry, construction, and agriculture. A significant leap forward can only be achieved on the basis of the most up-to-date machinery and technology. Where the designs are not up to the tasks of acceleration, they must be stopped without fail.

We are realists and are very well aware that the implementation of such large-scale plans for transforming the Soviet people's entire life on a qualitatively new technical, economic, and moral basis will require tremendous intensity and great work. And it is extremely important not to delay, to be bolder and more active in restructuring the management, our mutual relations, and our labor.

The 27th CPSU Congress gave a mighty, dynamic charge to social development, which led to an upsurge in the masses' political consciousness. The atmosphere of exactingness, high demands, and truthfulness that prevailed at the party congress is increasingly becoming characteristic of all our life. The Central Committee plenum not only consolidated this atmosphere, but also raised exactingness and principledness to new heights. While noting the positive developments, it concentrated its main attention on the problems that are still posing difficulties for practical implementation. Serious concern was expressed about delays in restructuring and the resistance offered by retarding factors.

Thos who are truly enthusiastic about radical changes are now active, but there are also many comrades who seem to understand the need to work in a new way but do not know how to do so. Both groups must be helped in every way. Attention must be paid to those who have not grasped the essence of the increased demands or are waiting for someone else to carry out the restructuring, or perhaps do not even believe in the success of the economic and political turnabout thought up by the party.

We cannot fail to be alarmed that the turn toward quality, efficiency, and now leadership methods is taking place painfully and with difficulty. Ministries and departments continue to cling to old privileges and are afraid to hand over some of their rights directly to the localities, enterprises, and labor collectives. There is no reduction in the flow of paper instruction, which fundamentally undermine initiative and every independent step. At many plants and construction sites last-minute shock work still flourishes, and the old slogan "The plan at any price" is still current. Labor and executive discipline leaves something to be desired. But today it should be extremely clear. The Central Committee will firmly puruse a line of support for everything healthy, everything that accords with the congress decisions and means restructuring and progress in practice. The persistent struggle against everything that hampers this process will be waged just as firmly and aggressively.

The CPSU Central Committee plenum posed with the utmost urgency and frankness the pressing tasks of restructuring party work. And that is only natural. We have long pinned on the Communist Party both our successes and our lapses and errors. It is our one party and we expect much of it. And how the party organizations work from now on will largely determine the activeness of millions of working people and the scale and depth of the people's creativity -- THE DECISIVE FORCE FOR ACCELERATION. Hence the heightened exactingness toward every party committee, every primary organization, every communist. As yet they have not all found their place in the struggle that has been launched. The idea remains current that the instructions issued at the congress relate to the sphere of big politics, while practical work must proceed in its own way, along well trodden paths. Until recently there has been a negative attitude toward criticism, the style of leadership by decree has been cultivated, "Useful" people have been sheltered, and the true state of affairs has been embellished not only in Oktyabrskiy party raykom in Kursk Oblast, as was mentioned at the plenum. There is plenty of evidence of this in the editorial office's mail.

The party instructs us that everyone will have to reorient himself and persistently master a new way of economic thinking -- everyone, from the worker to the minister, from the ordinary Communist to the Central Committee secretary. In the party leadership the emphasis must be on POLITICAL METHODS, and the desire on the part of party organs to take on management functions must be resolutely nipped in the bud. At all levels -- from the primary organization to the Central Committee apparatus -- we must get rid of elements of bureaucratic administration and concentrate efforts on organizational and ideological activity. Particular significance is attached to increasing in every way the primary party organizations' militancy and their prestige and role in all sectors of economic and cultural building.

And the restructuring in work, the Central Committee plenum points out, must BEGIN by developing the independence, autonomy, and assertiveness of PRIMARY ORGANIZATIONS and the initiative and activeness of COMMUNISTS.

The Party Central Committee appealed to the working people of the Soviet Union to launch a broad, nationwide socialist competition for the successful fulfillment of the 12th 5-Year Plan targets and transform bold plans and intentions into the energy of practical actions. The ardent party word finds a warm response in Soviet people's hearts. This principled, inspiring document must now be brought to the mind and awareness of EVERY PERSON, in whatever sphere of our multifaceted national economy he works. The Central Committee appeal formulates clearly and accurately the tasks of socialist competition at a crucial turning point, puts forward new guidelines, warms against errors and formalism, and orients the participants in the movement toward high end results.

The document cites Lenin's inspired instruction to produce "BETTER THAN BEFORE, MORE CHEAPLY THAN BEFORE, AND MORE THAN BEFORE." Today, on the eve of the 70th anniversary of Great October, this is our banner, our guiding star in this mighty movement. The main thing now is not to waste time, to step up the pace of development, to prevent hiccups in work, and to strive everywhere for the unconditional fulfillment of plan targets. Special significance is attached to the 1st year of the 5-year plan, when all the labor collectives are tested in practice.

The Central Committee plenum comprehensively examined the results of the recent conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee. The new initiatives of the Soviet Union and the Socialist community countries, aimed at the relaxation of international tension and the prevention of nuclear storms or any other wars, rang out like a tocsin of peace. And we must be clearly aware that today a decisive condition for peace on earth is selfless shock labor by us, comrades. And our acceleration is the surest path to a clear sky and happiness!

CULTURE MINISTRY'S ZAYTSEV VIEWS THEATER REFORM

PM301101 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jun 86 First Edition p 3

[Interview with Ye. Zaytsev, USSR first deputy minister of culture: "The Theater: A Time of Renewal"]

[Text] The editorial office has received many letters in which readers ask us to tell them about the theater experiment that is currently in preparation and which makes provision for expanding the creative and economic rights of stage collectives. Today Ye. Zaytsev, USSR first deputy minister of culture, answers a PRAVDA correspondent's questions.

Question: Yevgeniy Vladimirovich, how do you assess the present state of the theater and what, in your view, are the most characteristic trends in its development?

Answer: The impressive program for the acceleration of our country's socioeconomic development put forward by the 27th CPSU Congress sets new and more complex tasks for Soviet art. An important role in their implementation is to be played by the theater.

The successes of the multinational Soviet theater are well known. The Soviet theater today consist of 630 creative collectives which comprise more than 40,000 actors, producers, directors, and other creative workers. It means 3,000 premieres annually and more than 300,000 stage productions produced in 50 languages of the USSR peoples for an audience of 124 million people. The theater network is developing dynamically.

In recent years a substantial number of striking, problem-based plays and stage productions commenting with acuity on key current issues have been produced and have been greatly appreciated by audiences and the theatrical community.

The season that is just ending proved particularly "fruitful." There were "The Silver Wedding" [Serebryanaya svadba] by A. Misharin at the Moscow Academy Arts Theater; "Extract from the Day's News" [Iz novostey etogo dnya] by G. Markov and Z. Shim, and "Ivan" by A. Kudryavtsev at the Malyy Theater; "The Last Visitor" [Posiedniy Posetitel] by V. Dozortsev at the Leningrad Bolshoy Academy Drama Theater; "The Dictatorship of Conscience" [Diktatura sovesti] by M. Shatrov at the Lenin Komsomol Theater, and "I Am Just a Little Man, Of Course" [Ya, Konechno, Chelovek Malenkiy] by M. Garayeva at the L. Ukrainka Theater in Kiev. And this is by no means a full list of the plays and stage productions which attracted heightened audience interest and provoked lively debate.

Nonetheless, these are just individual successes, so far. The overall state of the theater leaves much to be desired.

The repertoire of many theater collectives reflects an evasion of major, socially significant problems. The theaters do not always display the necessary sense of civic responsibility and intolerance in the struggle against such negative phenomena as drunkenness, thieving, bribery, acquisitiveness, bureaucracy, and many other phenomena that are alien to our society.

In drama and on the stage a critical tone prevails. In this the theaters are most convincing. However, it must not be overlooked that this kind of approach is one-sided in a certain respect. As is known, it is most important, and probably also most difficult, having analyzed the nature of the current conflicts, to reproduce a true, multifaceted, artistically convincing picture of our contemporary, the fighter and pioneer, and to reveal the constructive and innovative nature of the activity of the party and the people at the current stage.

The declining artistic quality of stage productions and of the standards of professional skill among actors and producers in quite a number of theaters is also causing concern. Even in leading theater collectives fewer and fewer acting and directing discoveries are made. Nor can a decline in the activity of certain creative workers and arts councils or the weakening of the ties between a number of theaters and playwrights be ignored.

Question: What, in your view, are the reasons for these phenomena of stagnation?

Answer: They are largely caused by substantial shortcomings in the organization of theater affairs.

The current system of theater management and the organizational and economic principles on which theater activity is based go back to the first postwar years and are ill-fitted to cope with the problems which have accumulated in this sphere.

The practice of planning and material-financial support does not stimulate active organizational and creative work on the part of collectives and theater leaders. The management of the theater process is based largely on administrative methods of leadership, and this naturally hampers the development of creative initiative and the independence of theater collectives and is not orientated toward the best possible utilization of their creative potential.

In addition, at many theaters (this applies to major cultural centers above all) a situation has developed where creative theater staff members are so firmly established as to make an influx of talented young people difficult.

The USSR Ministry of Culture has carried out a comprehensive analysis of the current state of the theater and has, in cooperation with the theater community, elaborated proposals for a radical improvement of theaters' work. Many of these proposals, naturally, need to be tested in practice. With this end in mind a comprehensive experiment in improving theater management and enhancing the effectiveness of theater activity is to be carried out.

Question: What are the tasks of the experiment, and what is the essence of the proposals elaborated?

Answer: The main tasks of the experiment are an intensification of the ideological and social thrust of dramatic art, imparting the necessary dynamism to theater work on a basis of expending the rights and independence and developing the initiative of theater leaders, arts councils, and creative collectives and consequently enhancing their responsibility for the ideological and artistic quality of stage productions and the increase of audience numbers. It is planned to create the right conditions for theater collectives to enhance their activeness and pursue their quest for new forms of activity.

Within the framework of the experiment the theaters will be given the right to adopt independent decisions concerning their repertoire and the production of new plays and stage productions, and in addition organizational and financial preconditions are being created for fruitful work with playwrights and composers.

The number of plan indicators set for theaters by superior organs is being substantially reduced. Of the former total of 11 only 3 remain, namely audience figures, wage fund, and state subsidy.

It is planned to establish the following special funds: A fund for creative, production, and social development and an incentives fund that will be used both to pay out bonuses to workers and to strengthen the material and technical base, fund new productions, and pay for the collectives' sociocultural and everyday needs. In addition, money saved from the subsidy and any additional earnings of the theaters will also be used to replenish these funds.

The importance of financial incentives is to be increased by means of additional payments to theater workers for active creative and production activity totaling up to 50 percent of their wages.

Another important mechanism is a flexible pricing system that will enable theaters themselves to decide on extra charges or reductions on tickets.

Under the terms of the experiment an elective system is being introduced for arts councils entrusted with the solution of the main production and creative questions, at a number of theaters the post of artistic leader is being established, and team forms of labor orgaization for stagehands and a number of other measures are being introduced.

Question: What role will cultural organs play in the implementation of the experiment?

Answer: The experiment will be implemented under the supervision of party and soviet organs at local level. Special responsibility falls on the cultural organs, and this will necessitate a fundamental restructuring of the style and methods of their work, a resolute elimination of the shortcomings that exist in their work, a skillful utilization of the whole arsenal of available means, and a quest for new forms of work with the creative intelligentsia.

The center of gravity of cultural organs' organizational efforts must be shifted directly into the theater collectives.

Cultural organs must carry out an in-depth analysis of the repertoire policy and practice of each theater, draw up substantiated recommendations, and effectively influence the ideological and aesthetic qualities of dramatic and stage art. This will also be promoted by the new practice of the commissioning of stage productions by the state.

Under the new conditions the role of the administrative and creative leadership in particular will increase. The cultural organs' established practice in selecting, placing, and training cadres will be substantially complemented by the periodic assessment of directors, chief producers, and other leading theater staff.

The experiment will be conducted in more than 60 creative collectives of eight union republics, namely the RSFSR, the Ukraine, Belorussia, Kazakhstan, Georgia, Lithuania, Armenia, and Estonia. The experiment will be carried beginning 1 January 1987 for a period of 2 years with the aim of introducing the forms and methods of work that prove their worth -- after a generalization of results -- in all theaters by 1989.

Thanks to the concern of the party and the government most favorable conditions for a flourishing of creative activity have now been created. Over the past year fundamental decisions have been taken on consolidating the material base of culture and art, paying higher wages to cultural workers, further developing the country's concert scene, establishing the All-Union Music Society and the Soviet Cultural Fund and, last but not least, establishing the professional creative body, the USSR Union of Theater Societies.

All this has resulted in an upsurge of creative, civic, and patriotic activity on the part of the multinational detachment of the Soviet artistic intelligentsia and in a desire to consolidate the link with life, to reveal with truth, inspiration, and verve the greatness of the tasks confronting the party and the people at this crucial stage of historical development, to augment our society's spiritual potential, and to make a contribution to the struggle for communism.